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THE FORMATION OF THE DEPARTMENT OF ADVANCED EDUCATION: A CASE STUDY IN POSTSECONDARY EDUCATION, 1966-1973

by

© PETER MICHAEL WEST

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R. Baird

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Date . April 15, 1982 . . . . .

DEDICATION

To Therese, Stuart, Kirsten and Joanna,
without whom . . .

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to examine developments in the governance of postsecondary education in the province of Alberta. The context of the study was the literature on coordination and on the politics of postsecondary education. The problem studied was: what were the factors leading to the establishment of a Department of Advanced Education in Alberta? A case study approach was used to answer this question. A "reputational" method was used to pinpoint important actors in postsecondary education; these were interviewed, using an elite interviewing technique which allowed respondents to tell their own stories about what happened, then probed in order to obtain specific answers.

The study found that a provincial election in Alberta helped bring about change in the governance of postsecondary education in the province. It also found that "raw politics" played a significant role in postsecondary education, and that institutions were founded for various reasons, sometimes openly political. A "pecking order" of institutions was discerned in Alberta, as was described in the conceptual framework of the study. Tension between politicians and educators was found, particularly in the early 1970s. Finally, the study found that coordination seems to be a difficult and controversial matter, and that no ideal solution to the problems of coordination has yet appeared.

The study concludes by noting a number of implications for theory and practice in educational administration and suggesting some possible areas for future research.

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

The question of change has long been of concern to historians and political scientists, who frequently seek to understand gradual or revolutionary changes in human behaviour. Educational writers have also been concerned with innovations, turning-points, and long-range trends in the development of educational institutions. In the area of the politics of education, a number of writers have examined the question of educational change in a political context, while other writers, particularly in North America, have written about the relationship between postsecondary education and government. With the spectacular growth of postsecondary education in many parts of the world following the Second World War, and the increasing difficulty governments have had in controlling institutional growth, the literature on the politics of postsecondary education has grown perceptibly in the last twenty years.

This dissertation is an examination of change in postsecondary education in one Canadian province using a framework drawn from the literature on the politics of postsecondary education. The aim of the study was to identify the factors which influenced the establishment of a Department of Advanced Education in Alberta. The Department was created shortly after the accession of a Progressive Conservative Government in Alberta in 1971.

BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

Like many other states and provinces in North America, Alberta founded a university soon after the province itself was founded. The resulting University of Alberta became one of the largest, best established, and most prestigious institutions in Canada. A number of other institutions also were established in the period before and after the First World War, although some were closed down again or struggled for survival, particularly in the Depression years. Dramatic expansion of postsecondary education after the Second World War resulted in massive growth in the University and the beginnings of a junior college system after 1957. Two new universities were created in the mid-sixties, and other institutions were founded and expanded; almost overnight, the province's institutions of postsecondary education had proliferated and it seemed as if they would continue to proliferate. By 1970 the control of postsecondary education had become a problem for governments. This study examined the question of control of postsecondary education in Alberta, focussing on the period of most dramatic change, 1966-73, although care was taken to examine the historical background to the period under study.

SIGNIFICANCE

As educational administration must concern itself with questions of decision-making, change, and control, the politics of education will always offer a useful perspective which might stress the pressures and pressure-groups attempting to influence decisions, the emergence of policies, or the political aspects of lay boards. With regard to the politics of postsecondary education, issues of autonomy, governance, rising costs and uncertain enrolments are obvious items of concern to administrators, professors, and governments. The question of the relationship between postsecondary education and governments has been discussed frequently since Glenny published the first North American book on the subject in 1959. Thus the study should be of interest to scholars outside Alberta and should certainly be relevant to administrators and others within Alberta.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

This study emerged from a concern with methods of control of postsecondary education and from an interest in the reasons for an apparent increase in control of postsecondary education in North America which is detailed in the literature on coordination.

The problem investigated was: What were the factors leading to the establishment of a Department of Advanced Education in Alberta?

Sub-problems investigated included:

1. How were universities coordinated by government in the period 1966-73?

2. How were other postsecondary educational institutions coordinated by government in the same period?

3. What problems of coordination were experienced in this period?

4. How significant was the provincial election held shortly before the Department was created in contributing to a change of emphasis in policies on education?

5. How was the decision to abolish the Universities Commission and Alberta Colleges Commission made?

6. Who made this decision, and at what time was it made?

METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

A case study approach was used to answer the above questions. A "reputational" method was used to find important actors in postsecondary education: informants, or people knowledgeable about postsecondary education in Alberta, were asked to nominate those whom they regarded as the most important actors in postsecondary education in the period under study. A list of actors was obtained by means of this process; these were then interviewed, using an elite interviewing technique. This technique features minimal interview structure: the interviewer works from an interview guide rather than from a rigid list of questions. This allows a well-informed, experienced respondent to talk at will; probing questions are put towards the end of the interview in order to obtain answers to items of concern to the interviewer. Data from interviews were supplemented with data from documents so that information could be cross-checked. Documents examined included legislative records, agency minutes and papers, and university archives.

ASSUMPTIONS

The following assumptions were made about postsecondary education:

1. Most decisions made about postsecondary education reflect

political considerations to at least some degree.

2. It is desirable for institutions of postsecondary education to avoid waste and the unnecessary duplication of programs.

3. It is necessary for governments to concern themselves with expenditure on education and the benefits gained therefrom.

4. Coordination of postsecondary education is necessary if maximum benefits are to be obtained from it.

LIMITATIONS

This study was an attempt to understand developments in education and politics in the period 1966-73. However, complete understanding of the political world of postsecondary education will elude even the most expert and conscientious researcher. The fact that the researcher is not an Albertan could have limited his understanding of some developments. A final limitation was that data were drawn from memories of actors in postsecondary education.

DELIMITATIONS

The decision to focus on the establishment of the Department of Advanced Education delimited this study to a very great extent. The immediate focus was on events leading up to the creation of the Department, and on those related to its reorganization. Thus the period from 1966 (when the Universities Commission was created following the establishment of new universities) to 1973 (when the functions of the Universities and Colleges Commissions were absorbed in the reorganized Department of Advanced Education) has been studied in great detail. No attempt was made to trace developments past 1973, but to ensure that events of the period 1966-73 were understood both by the researcher and by readers of the dissertation, a short survey was made of developments before 1966.

The contributions of the Federal Government of Canada to postsecondary education in Alberta lie essentially outside the study; it has not been possible on this occasion to make a satisfactory study of relations between both federal and provincial governments and postsecondary institutions.

In addition, private colleges, apart from one which was relevant to a study of the Colleges Commission, have been excluded from this study.

AN OUTLINE OF REMAINING CHAPTERS

The chapter immediately following reviews the literature on the politics and the coordination of postsecondary education and provides a conceptual framework for the dissertation.

In Chapter 3 the methodology of the dissertation is examined. Case studies are described, the "reputational" technique is outlined, and elite interviewing is discussed. Consideration is also given to a study of documents and of the ways in which this may be used to supplement interview data.

In Chapters 4, 5 and 6, data collected for the study are presented. In Chapter 4 the coordination of universities in Alberta is described, with emphasis on the work of the Universities Commission. In Chapter 5 the coordination of other institutions in Alberta is described, with emphasis on the work of the Alberta Colleges Commission. In Chapter 6 a short review of political developments in Alberta to 1971 is followed by an examination of the establishment of the Department of Advanced Education, and of its reorganization.

In Chapter 7 data are analyzed according to the conceptual framework. In Chapter 8 conclusions are made, the methodology is reviewed, and implications of the study are drawn.

Chapter 2

REVIEW OF THE RELATED LITERATURE

This chapter provides a review of literature relating to the study. Some preliminary remarks are made about institutions of postsecondary education in Canada and their history, with emphasis on their dramatic expansion after World War II. Postsecondary education is next discussed as a political arena, and the question of its control by various governments is examined, particularly in a Canadian context. The trend toward greater control of postsecondary education in the period after 1970 is emphasized, and a good deal of attention is given to developments throughout North America which brought governments and postsecondary institutions into closer relationship. A discussion of the coordination of postsecondary education, and the means by which this can be accomplished, precedes a concluding note elaborating the problem to be studied in this dissertation.

THE EVOLUTION OF POSTSECONDARY EDUCATION IN CANADA

At the present time Canada has a range of institutions which provide various types of postsecondary education. Their origins lie, first, with the mechanics' institutes founded in Quebec, Saint-Joachim and Montreal toward the end of the seventeenth century, which set a pattern for non-university education, and second, with the colleges founded by the Jesuits in eastern Canada from 1655, which laid the groundwork for university education on a denominational pattern (Audet, in Wilson et al. 1970:79). While technical education developed throughout Canada largely on the model of what was to become Ryerson Polytechnic in Toronto, university education altered significantly over the course of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The concept of a university as a small institution which offered liberal arts and theology courses broadened with the waning of the power of religious denominations over postsecondary institutions and the addition to the university curriculum of the sciences and social sciences: the result was an expansion of the university in size and scope and a gradual move toward its secularization. Moreover, western Canada's universities grew up modelled largely on the land-grant colleges of the middle west United States rather than on European models (Stamp, in Wilson et al. 1970:330). A university was founded in Manitoba in 1877, and shortly thereafter Professor Henry Marshall Tory founded what would become the University of British Columbia and then became founding President of the University of Alberta in 1908. These universities were essentially provincial institutions which existed in a comfortable relationship with provincial governments.

Postsecondary education in Canada experienced its most dramatic changes in the era following World War II. In the twenty years from 1945 to 1965 universities expanded with the "veterans' bulge" and expanded exponentially thereafter following increases in Canada's population and an increased university attendance rate. At the same time, technical education grew dramatically (under circumstances which are explained later in this chapter) and junior colleges were established. The initial intention of the junior colleges was to offer transfer courses but this scope broadened over time.

The Consequences of Growth

This dramatic growth in the number of institutions and in enrolments in the postwar period had important effects. Postsecondary education became far more complex: instead of one university and a scattering of other institutions, each Canadian province had, by 1970, multiple institutions which began to compete with each other for new programs. At the same time, costs in wages, salaries and capital programs rose while demands for funds were made more insistently. Accordingly, postsecondary education became an item of public concern and a target for government action.

POSTSECONDARY EDUCATION AS A POLITICAL ARENA

There are a number of ways of looking at institutions of postsecondary education. Davis expressed a common view of academia when he remarked:

> Within cloistered and, if we may continue the stereotype, ivy-covered and ivory-towered walls, the members of the academic community have learned the habit of going their own way without necessarily being influenced by what is happening in the outside world. (Cited in Cooper et al. 1966:29)

On the other hand, Mayo stated that few institutions were as political as the university, and that the model of the "community of scholars in detached pursuit of beauty, truth and goodness" was inappropriate, certainly in regard to today's institutions (1970:549).

There are good reasons for seeing postsecondary education, at least in part, as a political arena. Institutions exist in a local, state/provincial and national context, and decisions made within institutions have ramifications for governments, school pupils, and employers. Furthermore, governments expect postsecondary institutions to (i) facilitate the general education and personal development of citizens who study at the postsecondary level; (ii) provide specialized education and vocational training; (iii) engage in basic research as well as research of importance to governments; and (iv) respond to opportunities for community service for which institutions may be especially suited (Council of Ministers 1981:33). Governments prefer not to spell out such roles in detail, but they expect institutions to behave responsibly and efficiently; for governments must account to the electorate for what is done in postsecondary institutions and be able to defend their costs to the taxpayer.

POSTSECONDARY EDUCATION AS A FIELD OF STUDY

It is necessary to define some key terms and explain the context for the study of postsecondary education from a political perspective. Iannacone defined politics as "that segment of social life involving the activities and relationships of individuals, groups and associations resulting in, or intending to result in, decisions by any governmental policymaking body" (1967:4). Postsecondary education may be defined as all formal education excluding that conducted in schools.

Clarke said that a system of higher or postsecondary education consisted of three interdependent elements: a government department or division responsible for policy formulation; a coordinating agency, if one exists; and institutions which are coordinated (1975:9).

Harman saw the politics of education at the postsecondary level as possessing three main aspects (1974:34). The first was concerned with the internal governance of institutions and the distribution of power among groups and individuals within them. The work of Clark (1976) and of Smelser and Almond (1974) illustrates this aspect of the field. The second dealt with student politics and was of greatest interest to scholars during the disturbances in North America which began at the University of California's Berkeley campus in September, 1964. Finally, the relationship between institutions and governments had been studied by a number of writers (Harman, 1974:34). The most reputable of these are Lyman A. Glenny and Robert O. Berdahl in the United States, Edward Sheffield in Canada, and Grant Harman in Australia. The present study falls into the category of studies concerned with the relationships between institutions and governments.

THE QUESTION OF CONTROL

The question of control of educational institutions is a fundamental one. As they exist in a political world, such institutions are subject to public controversy and debate, although the case of Canadian education is a complex one. According to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, Canada's may be one of the least politicized education systems in the world, and reforms are made (usually on the basis of British, American, or French models) on a pragmatic and noncontroversial basis (1976:19). While this seems possible, the apparent lack of party political debate about education does not mean that education is openly or impartially controlled. The

Hurtubise-Rowat Commission on the Relations between Universities and Governments warned of the danger of domination of higher education "by a kind of oligarchy" (1970:121); such an oligarchy would function best in a society wherein education was not publicly debated.

Iannacone has suggested that education has often been dominated by an "in-group." He described educational organizations as private, or "sacred," that is, dominated by a small group of cognoscenti. Iannacone and Lutz characterized the politics of education as follows:

> It is the politics of the sacred, rural rather than secular, urban community; a politics of the priesthood rather than the hustings. The two genres of politics are different in kind. The politics of the hustings are visible and thrive on conflict and its resolution. The colourful kaleidoscope and calaphonic [sic] calliope of the campaign is its milieu. The politics of the priesthood are shrouded in mystery. They subsist on the development of consensus prior to public debate. (Cited in Iannacone 1981:25)

Under such circumstances, the same authors argued, education was usually dominated by an elite, especially one consisting of educational professionals (cited in Iannacone 1981:26). The same point was made by Housego, who suggested that the politics of education in the Canadian provinces was that of interest groups: settlement of grievances rested, typically, with a small core of senior educationalists, who worked "by low visibility and informal agreement" (1971:51).

Iannacone asserted, however, that the neglect of education by government lasted only for a time. After a government changed hands it often happened that substantial intervention was made in education:

> The governmental dimension is characterized by alterations of (1) long periods of stability with (2) shorter periods of abrupt change . . . such realignments of forces, redistributions of political power, and redirections of policies do take place at both state and local governmental level. When these occur, a sharp shift may take place in the government of education. (1967:32)

While this statement is not made as a universal rule, the idea of a government's intervention in education in its initial or "honeymoon" period seems likely. Together Housego and Iannacone suggest that education at state or provincial level is subject to dominance by an "in-group," but that ultimately government will intervene in education, most probably soon after it comes to power, and will make significant changes in educational governance.

The gulf between politicans and educational professionals has been noted by a number of writers. Halperin saw the gulf as a "kind of professional Mason-Dixon line" (1974:189), whereas Berdahl used the phrase "a great divide" (in Mosher and Wagoner 1978:252). Halperin said that educators complain that politicians have only a short-term view of education, will act only if they see advantage for themselves in doing so, are poorly informed on education, and are only intermittently interested in it. On the other hand, he suggested, politicians complain that educators are arrogant and sanctimonious, always pretend that their own motives are pure while decrying those of politicians, are rarely useful when it comes to practical solutions to problems, and see politicians as immoral while never admitting the selfishness of their own actions (1974:189-190). The gulf between politicans and educators perceived by these writers could contribute to distrust between the two groups and to disputes about the governance of postsecondary education.

A final note suggests that control of education is often achieved by a study of personal relationships and informal contacts:

> The more subtle personal contacts which are the warp and woof of the fabric of this relationship defy rules and definitions

> and formulas . . . they are the true means by which the delicate balance of authority, responsibility, and interdependence existing between the university and state government is maintained or, when matters go awry, upset. (Gould, cited by Berdahl in Mosher and Wagoner 1978:252)

In sum, control of education in any given territory appears likely to be governed unobtrusively by a small "in-group," but government will view the latter with suspicion and will tend to intervene in the governance of postsecondary institutions, testing the power of the "in-group" to govern under all circumstances.

GOVERNMENTS AND THE GROWTH OF CONTROL IN POSTSECONDARY EDUCATION

What powers do governments have over institutions of postsecondary education, and which institutions can resist government initiatives most successfully?

The Issue of Institutional Autonomy

The difficult question of institutional autonomy points to a core of matters within institutions which governments do not control. It is necessary here to distinguish three related concepts critical to institutional independence. A fundamental distinction was made by the Commission on the Relations between Universities and Governments:

> Institutional autonomy is the relative ability of a university's governing body to run the university without any outside controls; academic freedom is the ability of professors and students to pursue their lines of enquiry without any political or social pressure. (Hurtubise and Rowat 1970:67)

Berdahl et al. further distinguished procedural from substantial autonomy, the former covering items like the making of reports to governments and the fixing of wages and employment conditions, the latter representing the substance of the faculty's freedom to teach and do research as it thought fit (1971:240). As this statement implies, procedural autonomy has been eroded by demands that salaries and working conditions, for example, should be seen as fair and reasonable in universities and colleges as compared with other organizations. It is impossible to make a categorical statement about the supposedly fundamental autonomy of academic institutions: in the first place, universities traditionally enjoy more freedom from outside control than do technical institutes and teachers colleges. The autonomy of institutions also is relative and cannot be defined for all times and occasions (Cooper, in Cooper et al. 1966:19). It might be expected, however, that "academic autonomy" would be raised as a slogan by educators attempting to resist governmental controls.

What sources of control do governments have over institutions? These may include acts of the legislature, which establish institutions and set out the conditions under which they exist; financial controls; direct instructions from Ministers and public servants; appointment of presidents, principals, and members of boards of governors; and directives and suggestions made by various other agencies. But while the powers of legislatures over institutions are immense, they tend to be used only intermittently, in accordance with Iannacone's statement above. Traditions such as university autonomy, and the tendency already noted for education to be controlled by an "in-group," will tend to encourage the natural inertia of governments and their lack of lasting interest in postsecondary education.

The Tendency Toward Greater Control

However, there seems to have been a gradual trend for governments to assert greater control over postsecondary education, especially in the last hundred years. Glenny and Dalglish suggested that a tradition of institutional autonomy evolved in Germany and the United Kingdom and spread to North America, where it seems to have flowered in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (1973:8). But from 1905 onwards, they suggested, a number of trends occurred: arrangements for the voluntary coordination of institutions were increasingly made; these became firmer as coordinating agencies began to appear, and by 1971 almost all the American states had strong coordinating agencies (1973:35). The same tendency toward voluntary coordination and then stronger control was perceived in Canada by the Commission on the Relations between Universities and Governments (Hurtubise and Rowat 1970:82f). Governments had begun to be more concerned, in part with the cost of postsecondary education, and established agencies to supervise it more closely. It will be observed that this argument supports Iannacone's suggestion that governments *themselves* are not interested in education except intermittently.

What are the reasons for the trend toward closer control of postsecondary education? First, Smelser and Almond argued that in any rapidly growing system, authority tended to become centralized, standardized and bureaucratized: thus the growth of control can be seen as a logical consequence of the rapid growth of institutions and enrolments throughout North America in the late 1960s (1974:114).

Glenny suggested that postsecondary education simply became too big for governments to cope with, and chaos resulted—'blessed chaos,' one academic called it—with the eventual result that government perceived a problem, restricted budgets and programs, and passed statutes to prevent "unnecessary overlap and duplication of programs" and to promote the "orderly development of higher education" (1976:5). The same phrases were repeated in statutes increasing control of postsecondary education, and Levy provided an illuminating discussion of the comparative politics of postsecondary education in areas of Europe, Africa and the Americas in which he discerned tightened control. He argued that following proliferation of institutions, increased control occurred (i) because new institutions lacked the entrenched power and established patterns of influence possessed by older, more prestigious institutions, and (ii) because closer control was seen as necessary in a proliferating and diversifying system (1978:8).

Second, paradoxical as it may appear, stagnation can also contribute to tighter control. Kogan made the point that the British trend has been to move from increased control predicated on growth to increased control predicated on a slowing of growth (cited in Levy 1978:7). Uncertain or declining enrolments have been recognized as contributing to tightening control over postsecondary education in Canada in the 1970s (Naimark in Gregor and Wilson 1979:31). Variations, especially unpredictable variations, in the number, type and enrolments of institutions can contribute towards closer control, partly because academics often seem reluctant to make the reductions in costs requested by governments.

Third, financial reasons have frequently been used for explaining tighter control. Glenny suggested that when in the 1960s and 1970s budgets for postsecondary education doubled and tripled, their management became critical to states' solvency; tighter control was seen as the obvious answer to the problem (1976:4). Levy added a cautionary note: tighter control of funding was not precisely the same as closer total control of institutions, and there were examples in which funding was given by governments without close supervision (1978:21). The case of the Federal Government of Canada (discussed later in this chapter) is a case in point.

Student radicalism has often been suggested as a contributing factor in increased control of institutions by government. Some of the state legislators in the United States surveyed by Eulau et al. saw student radicalism as leading to a desire for stricter control of postsecondary education (1970:95). But while the latter trend could clearly be seen in Canada in the late 1960s and 1970s, instances of campus mobilization and student violence were restricted to a small number of campuses. Levy concluded that student radicalism had been exaggerated as a contributing cause of tighter control (1978:10) while Naimark commented that in times of apparent crisis governments might be panicked into closer supervision (in Gregor and Wilson 1979:41). It seems, then, that student radicalism, if it occurs often enough and gains media attention, might contribute to a desire for closer control, but the importance of such radicalism as a factor contributing to increasing control of postsecondary education can be exaggerated fairly easily.

Fifth, nation-building or province-building can become a priority of government, with the result that postsecondary education becomes submerged in development policies. Levy claimed to have discerned a worldwide trend to use postsecondary institutions to achieve social and political ends, such as the encouragement of loyalty towards governments, lifelong learning, and better articulation between education and the business and manufacturing communities (1978:12). A closely related trend toward the politicization of postsecondary education in Canada was discerned by the Council of Ministers for Education in Canada: universities and colleges, it said, were no longer peripheral to social concerns but had become large organizations with big budgets and the power to help or hurt the rest of the community (1981:41). Vaizey argued that postsecondary institutions had to be seen increasingly as involved in training for employment:

> Education is a special case of "manpower planning"; and it is possible to work out far more carefully than at present the indirect consequences of any single act of policy. The decision to increase the number of university places by 100, that is to say, can be seen in terms of its demands on other parts of the education system, and its influence on the supply of teachers. (Cited by Parent in Cooper et al. 1966:53)

A final factor in increasing control has been the growing criticism of the privileged position of academics. Glenny and Dalglish have argued that a "new populism" prompted governments to act on the perceived extravagence of universities and colleges and quell continued bickering over levels of postsecondary funding (1973:128f). It seems likely that this is related to the "great divide" between politicians and educators mentioned earlier in this chapter and that the move toward tighter control of postsecondary education could be only part of a much wider attack on the perceived dominance of education by educational professionals.

THE GROWTH OF CONTROL OF POSTSECONDARY EDUCATION: THE CASE OF CANADA

It is necessary here to examine the particular case of Canadian institutions and their relationship to governments. The historical and constitutional background was set out by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, which explained that the loosening of bonds between Britain and the Canadian colonies came about so gradually and peacefully—in contrast to the case of the more southern colonies—that the Canadian Confederation came about only after the establishment of the four founding provinces (1976:18). The adherence of these provinces to Confederation was achieved by the terms of the British North America Act of 1867, Section 93, which established that "in and for each Province the Legislature may _exclusively_ make laws in relation to education . . ." (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development 1976:18, emphasis added). The result is that the rights of the provinces over education, _inter alia_, are deeply entrenched.

This is not to say that the Federal Government of Canada can be dismissed from consideration altogether. Contributions to education policy have repeatedly been made by the Federal Government, the Technical Vocational and Training Act being a case in point which has been significant for postsecondary institutions such as the Northern Alberta Institute of Technology (Bryce 1970). But such contributions have lacked the detailed, continuing supervision of education made by provincial governments and their agencies. Furthermore, after the Federal-Provincial Agreement of 1966 the national government withdrew from any kind of direct involvement in the governance of postsecondary education, although its financial support continued. In the words of the Commission on the Relations between Universities and Governments, the impact of the new scheme was "immediate and profound . . . all of [the universities'] general state support now came from one source, which was by far the largest source of revenue" (Hurtubise and Rowat 1970:136). Although the role of the Federal Government in postsecondary education continues to be discussed, it is the provincial governments which must concern students of postsecondary governance in Canada most profoundly. To a degree not found in Australia or the United States, provincial legislatures create institutions, make arrangements for their governance and have the power to amalgamate or abolish them. The Council of Ministers perceived that there were differences among institutions: universities were established by provincial acts of incorporation and were given their own governing boards and a large degree of institutional autonomy, while institutes and colleges were usually under more direct control by governments (1981:37-38). It might be fair to add that these differences in governance are far from clear and that some universities may well be more autonomous than others.

The power of provincial legislatures over postsecondary institutions, in sum, is very considerable, and some sources argue that it has been increasing: Naimark, in particular, complains of "creeping provincialism" in postsecondary education in the 1970s (in Gregor and Wilson 1979:34). Such a trend appears likely given the fact that provincial governments have great sway over postsecondary institutions in Canada and the trend detailed above of increasing control of relevant governments over postsecondary institutions.

COORDINATION AND COORDINATION AGENCIES IN POSTSECONDARY EDUCATION

Definition

According to Berdahl et al., coordination is "the process of reconciling (as wisely and felicitously as possible) the numerous differences which exist within higher education and between higher education and the state" (1971:41-42). The same writers pointed out that coordination could be considered "good" if it resulted in "wise" policies and resolved conflicts with relative ease (1971:42). Clearly, coordination is a somewhat relative notion: Glenny stated that its purpose was the regulation and combination in harmonious action of the various components of a system of education (1959:87), but what is harmonious may be debatable. In addition, it is evident from the discussion about politicians and educators earlier in this chapter that these could be expected to take different viewpoints on coordination. In any case, Lowi argued that all public action has a coercive basis (cited in Doern and Aucoin 1979:21) and coordination could be regarded as control of institutions through whatever means a government sees fit to employ.

The Need for Coordination

Most writers appear to accept the need for governments to coordinate postsecondary education, although Naimark felt that governments have gone too far in asserting the need for it and have infringed upon institutional autonomy by means of unnecessary regulations of institutions (in Gregor and Wilson 1979:44). A more common assumption is that coordination is necessary for the adequate definition of institutional roles and rationalization of educational planning, particularly in times when resources are scarce (Dressel and Faricy 1972:158). The case for coordination was eloquently put by the Committee on Higher Education in Great Britain, more commonly known as the Robbins Committee:

> Undoubtedly it is good that academic institutions should have the liberty to determine their own programmes and policy. It is good that they should be free to make their own experiments and to develop the subjects most congenial to their leading spirits. . . .
>
> But it is unlikely that separate consideration by independent institutions of their own affairs in their own circumstances will always result in a pattern that is comprehensive and appropriate in relation to the needs of society and the demands of the national economy. There is no guarantee of the emergence of any coherent policy. And this being so, it is not reasonable to expect that the Government, which is the source of finance, should be content with an absence of coordination or should be without influence thereon. (Cited by Davis in Cooper et al. 1966:33).

For these reasons, governments have seen a need for coordination and either arranged for it themselves or established agencies to implement it. There are various means by which such coordination can be achieved: directly by government, perhaps through a department of state; through an intermediary or "buffer body"; or through the voluntary coordination of institutions.

The Ambiguous Role of Agencies

Agencies of coordination are normally subject to a high degree of ambiguity. March and Olsen observed that, for some organizations, ambiguity was a dominant condition, particularly when their environments were changing or when they had been recently established (1976: 12). The insecure position of new agencies may be appreciated when one considers that they have to operate between powerful governments and a wide range of institutions, some of them very well established. Conflict between a prestigious institution and the agency will tend to weaken the latter, while an agency which is too kindly disposed to well-established universities may find itself in disfavour with others or with the government. Glenny said that an agency had no built-in constituency, no traditions, little public awareness of its role and could be destroyed either by the legislature or by the hostility of institutions: in sum, it existed in a system of balanced tensions (in Minter 1966:31-32). While such a position is certainly insecure, one suggestion is that a degree of "creative tension" may well assist the various bodies involved in postsecondary education to work out their differences (Berdahl et al. 1971:181).

Agencies and Institutions

Any agency has to cope with various institutions. Dearing suggested that institutions usually viewed agencies with hostility: there was an undercurrent of suspicion that the critical decisions about institutions were made by clerks acting carelessly or in haste, as well as a feeling that some institutions were being preferred to others (in Perkins 1972:55). The institutions which were longest established tended to feel that their international perspectives were confined by the state or provincial perspectives of the agency (Berdahl et al. 1971:259), while community colleges seemed at times "almost paranoid" about their perceived neglect by governments (Dearing, in Perkins 1972:58). In sum, it appears as if institutional resentment must be an accepted hazard for those who work in a coordinating agency.

Agencies and Governments

It is the state or provincial government, however, which an agency must watch above all else. While compromise with institutions might be seen as essential to the daily work of an agency, failure to satisfy the legislature will probably result in moves to replace or reconstitute the agency, or at least to influence it in some way (Glenny in Minter 1966:35). Berdahl et al. made much the same point when they said that an agency has to steer a careful course between the Scylla of the legislature's impatience and the Charybdis of institutional resentment (1971:261).

Agency Staffing

One further matter needs discussion here: the question of how to staff an agency. Glenny said that any agency's power depends on the capabilities of its staff as well as its affiliations, its reputation, its resources and its leadership (1976:73). The question of leadership for the agency is a thorny one: in some ways an outsider may be preferable to a person from one of the large institutions with whom the agency has to deal, but an outsider tends to lack the intimate political knowledge and contacts which seem essential for the agency's operation. Perhaps there is no ideal agency head, for a chairman who arouses the ire of presidents of universities may seem very acceptable to colleges, and vice versa. The staff of an agency is an equally difficult problem: Glenny warned that universities tended to regard civil servants without degrees somewhat scornfully; one solution, that of borrowing staff from the oldest university, might tend to reduce the agency's independence (1976:38). Other things being equal, it might be expected that an agency which dealt only with colleges might be seen as more successful than one which dealt only with universities, which tend to be characteristically impatient of restraints on their autonomy.

It sum, it may be appreciated that coordination is a difficult task which has become increasingly necessary, though scarcely easier, in times of uncertain enrolments and rising costs. Agencies were created for the very reason that governments perceived problems which they were unable and unwilling to solve themselves: in a sense, an agency is a temporary solution which governments can change whenever it suits them to do so.

SOME TYPES OF COORDINATING AGENCIES

The type of agency used for coordination will depend on the political culture and the politics of education in the territory under consideration. As long as one university dominates a state or province, a common pattern seems to be informal cooperation between government, government-controlled institutions, and the university. This situation existed in most of the Canadian provinces until the mid-sixties. With the establishment of more institutions, it becomes necessary to set up a formal agency of coordination: this was done, for example, in Saskatchewan and Alberta as soon as a second university was established in those provinces.

Buffer Bodies

One type of agency commonly used has been the buffer agency. The model for all such bodies is the Universities Grants Committee in the United Kingdom. This acts as a buffer between government and the universities and supposedly allows "state funding without state control" (Crequer 1981:9). The Committee is appointed by the Secretary of State for Education in the national government and consists largely of academics, supplemented by laymen. It advises the government about universities' needs, although the government is not bound to accept its advice. Although it is widely believed that the great advantage of the Committee is "to isolate us . . . from politics in the raw" (Cooper 1966: 13), a more recent article cast doubt on the alleged independence of the Committee and noted that it had never dissented from government policies (Crequer 1981:9). It could be that the Universities Grants Committee has not been well understood by non-British writers, who fail to perceive the subtle processes by which it is influenced by government.

The buffer model was adopted in Canada in the latter part of the twentieth century in a number of provinces: Nova Scotia, for instance, established a Universities Grants Committee; British

Columbia called its agency the Academic Board for Higher Education; other provinces established Universities Commissions.

The problems noted above in regard to the British agency are a reminder that buffer bodies are by no means ideal bodies. The advantage of such bodies seems to be that they can offer advice to government which the latter is not constrained to accept; thus matters which might best be removed from the hurlyburly of politics are removed from close ministerial control. Some of the problems inherent in the concept of advice were explored by the Report of the Commission on the Relations between Universities and Governments: advice can cover almost anything from a simple suggestion to a direction (Hurtubise and Rowat 1970:92). Some buffer bodies are given executive powers in addition to their freedom to advise: the bodies in New Brunswick, Manitoba and Alberta, for example, had the ability to decide how grants could be allocated. But buffer bodies may obscure responsibility for postsecondary education, which ultimately governments must accept. Corry, in the same Report, argued that the buffer bodies had outlived their usefulness by 1970:

> It was a civilized means [of coordination] and an effective instrument as long as university grants took a relatively small part of government budgets and were not seen to threaten other powerful bodies and blocs of opinion that have a stake in wide access to the public purse. But that day has vanished as new universities are established, as higher education perforce becomes more complex and more expensive, and costs rise in what seems an astronomical fashion. (Cited in Hurtubise and Rowat 1970:90)

In a submission to the Commission, Mayo said that the buffer agency was as effective as a hutch of straw would be against a hurricane. He added that there was a need for a new structure—perhaps a Department of University Affairs—to carry out policies more aggressively (1970:561,564). By that time, William Davis had already become Ontario's Minister for a newly-created Department of University Affairs.

Coordination by Government Department

The possibility of coordinating by means of a department of state is merely one means of effecting the tighter control which was desired by governments in the 1970s. There were, of course, other possibilities, such as that of a "super commission" erected over the whole of postsecondary education. A key passage in the Report of the Commission on the Relations between Universities and Governments urged that existing agencies be reconstituted and strengthened and that they be given a mandate to supervise the whole of postsecondary education; the example of the Advanced Education Board in New South Wales, Australia, was cited by the Report as a body which had the necessary overview of both universities and colleges, but the Report recommended that coordinating agencies functioned better when they were independent of government (Hurtubise and Rowat 1970:113).

While there are various types of coordinating agencies, and a general move in North America from voluntary coordinating arrangements, through buffer agencies, to coordination through departments or other forms of central coordination, the type of agency used can obscure the degree of control exerted by government. Regardless of the agency in question, a government can normally obtain the result it wants in the control of postsecondary education.

KEY ISSUES IN THE CONTROL OF POSTSECONDARY EDUCATION

A number of questions and issues are raised by the literature on coordination. One is institutional self-interest: inevitably, it may be expected that every board chairman and institutional head will seek to advance the interests of the institution and expand its size and status. New institutions will naturally be opposed in such desires by older, more established ones, and all will tend to demand new programs for themselves. The tendency of all college-level institutions to "ape the universities" is one aspect of such self-interest (the words are those of a British Secretary of State for Education and Science, cited in Cooper et al. 1966:14).

Second, no body is immune from favouritism. Any coordinating agency may lean more towards some institutions than others; even legislatures can have favourites, depending on the orientation and geographical origin of members in them. A key problem is the relationship between the agency and the established university, which, if too intimate, creates problems elsewhere.

Third, and most awkward, is the dilemma of institutional governance. In the words of Davis, can institutions fulfil their obligations to society, gain the financial support they need, yet retain the independence necessary to their functioning as society's critics? (cited in Cooper et al. 1966:27). Parent made much the same point when he said that the difficulty was "to find the formula most likely to encourage such freedom of the university while letting the universities effectively fulfil their social function within a system of financial and administrative relationship" (cited in Cooper et al. 1966:49). The tensions discussed here demonstrate the difficulty of coordination as well as its political quality in almost any conceivable circumstances.

THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Essentially, the conceptual framework of the dissertation can be stated as a series of generalizations about the governance of postsecondary education. These are as follows:

1. Institutions are created by governments for various educational and political reasons. One strong influence in the creation of institutions is the force of regional rivalries and political conflicts. As a result, a state or province tends to accumulate a number of institutions in a semi-random fashion.

2. There is a natural "pecking order" among postsecondary institutions. At its peak is the old-established provincial or state university, sometimes closely followed by other universities. Such institutions jealously guard their privileges and can be expected to resist attempts to reduce them. Community colleges tend to be at the bottom of the "pecking order."

3. Control by governments of postsecondary education has increased since the 1960s according to a number of recognizable steps. In the beginning, institutions are allowed to make their own arrangements for the governance of postsecondary education, often in cooperation with government. A buffer agency is commonly used in the intermediate stages of control. In the third stage, tighter control over institutions is imposed, and attempts are made to establish more

sense of system in postsecondary education. Factors associated with the growth of control are urbanization, industrialization, growth in the number of institutions and student radicalism.

4. Significant elections and electoral realignments frequently precede major changes in the governance of postsecondary education. Such changes may include a redistribution of power among institutions, or a wholesale reorganization of educational governance.

5. Educational decision-making tends to be dominated by an "in-group" of professionals who remain in control of decision-making most of the time, although a new government may attempt to dislodge such groups from positions of power.

6. The conventional wisdom on coordination is that it is best exercised by a strong coordinating agency with an experienced chairman (who is an educational professional) and a well-qualified staff. The agency should not be dominated by any institution or group of institutions.

7. Agencies are often used by government as instruments of coordination of postsecondary education. They are of three main types, although these are not discrete categories:

a. voluntary agencies formed by institutions themselves to parcel out programs and make cooperative arrangements;

b. buffer agencies, which are semi-autonomous bodies possessing advisory and executive powers;

c. central coordinating agencies established by governments to cut down on waste and needless duplication. They have executive powers over institutional programs and often use a master plan to lay out the essentials of province-wide provision for postsecondary education.

Chapter 3

METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

This chapter introduces the methodological problems and issues of the study, concentrating on case studies and appropriate methods of writing them. The advantages and disadvantages of interviewing as a method of research are presented, and emphasis is given to elite interviewing. A further section deals with written materials and the problems they present as data for case studies. Finally, the problems to be examined in the study, and the methods of research used to explore them, are briefly summarized.

THE CHOICE OF APPROACHES

A case study approach was used to study the problem explained in Chapter 1. No other approach seemed suitable: the problem did not lend itself to experimentation, for instance. One possibility might have been the "grounded theory" slant taken by Small (1979) using the work of Glaser and Strauss (1967). Given the depth and richness of the literature on coordination in postsecondary education, and the researcher's knowledge and experience of problems in the governance of postsecondary institutions, it was decided to write a case study in the politics of postsecondary education.

Once this decision was made, research methods had to be chosen. It would have been possible to seek information by using questionnaires, but this method seemed inappropriate given the small number of persons closely involved with the events under study: the researcher had no difficulty in isolating about a dozen persons who appeared critical to events, and another ten persons whose involvement seemed significant. Accordingly, a combination of interviews and documents was decided upon. Both the approach and the research methods used are explained below, following a discussion on case studies.

CASE STUDIES

Hofferbert defined a case study as an indepth examination of an example of behaviour which told a story and enriched an understanding of general tendencies in society (1974:89). He warned that such studies must be typical cases, not aberrant or eccentric samples of behaviour, if they were to be illuminating (1974:89). One particular type of case study, the explanatory study, examined a single decision or set of decisions and focussed on conflict and its resolution within the study to explain how a decision was made (1974:93). The present study can be seen as an explanatory study.

Hofferbert argued that a case study had characteristic strengths and weaknesses (1974:138). Among its strengths, he suggested, were richness of detail and "the lucidity it can offer in illuminating the dynamics of policymaking" (1974:78). The weaknesses of case studies noted by the same writer included the difficulty of deciding whether a case study represented general patterns of behaviour (1974:139). Hofferbert also warned that those who wrote case studies might carelessly attribute historical trends and alleged background causes of the problem described in the study (1974:139). If these weaknesses can be kept in mind by the researcher and avoided wherever possible, case studies can be written which illustrate general tendencies and illuminate important decisions.

THE "REPUTATIONAL" APPROACH

Some types of research have featured the selection of key actors in a given area of decision-making. Hunter described a "reputational" technique in which informants, or knowledgeable persons familiar with a particular area of experience, were asked to name the important actors in that area. This produced a list of names: those which appeared most regularly were chosen as the influentials (Hunter, cited in Housego 1964:8).

This technique was used by the researcher, who asked informants to nominate those they considered most important in guiding the development of postsecondary education in Alberta in the period 1966-1973. Informants chosen included university professors, members of colleges and other postsecondary institutions, and past and present members of the Department of Advanced Education and Manpower. A core of twenty-one names appeared regularly and were chosen for interview to obtain information which would cast light on the problem to be studied.

INTERVIEWING

The interview is a form of data-gathering commonly used by social scientists. Riesman and Benney defined it as:

> A transitory relationship between two people, strangers to each other, in which one person seeks information from which he can derive no immediate personal advantage and the other gives it without suffering any disadvantage. . . . it aims, at its best, to reduce distance, avoid threats, and maintain esteem. (1956:229)

Dexter argued that interviewing ought to be used when inferences drawn from the interviews could be tested or checked, when research issues pointed to interviews as against other data-gathering methods, and when it seemed that interviews would produce better data than would alternative methods (1970:11). The same writer suggested that interviews were most useful in investigating opinions, attitudes and values (1970:120).

Elite Interviewing

One type of specialized interviewing discussed by Dexter was elite interviewing. This is sometimes referred to as nonstandardized interviewing and stresses the respondent's definition of the situation, encourages him to introduce notions of what is relevant to any problem, and allows the interviewer to consider various definitions of the problem (Dexter 1970:5). Dexter specifically recommended that when using this type of interviewing, all information should be recorded, not simply that which appeared relevant at the time, that the interviewer should occasionally use leading or pointed questions, should know as much as possible about the respondent so as not to waste time, and that he should use "if" questions when appropriate (1970:18). Morrissey suggested that a two-stage process was ideal for elite interviewing: the respondent should be allowed to talk at will, guided by a small number of broad questions, but after some time, the interviewer should begin to probe (cited in Dexter 1970:112).

Dexter noted two dangers that elite interviewing posed for the novice. The goodwill of important people, he said, could be strained by excessive demands on their time and patience; some, such as legislators, were particularly susceptible to resentment against importunate or amateurish interviewers (1964:557f). Second, Dexter warned that it was easy for confidential remarks made by important respondents to reach others and cause harm, particularly if typists or clerks were used to transcribe, decode or interpret material (1964:561). For these reasons, the same writer recommended that those using elite interviewing should disguise high-ranking sources who remained in positions of power (1964:561).

The present study has used the elite interviewing style. Interviews were loosely structured around a relatively short list of questions. Respondents were encouraged to reminisce and to talk about their own experiences, although probing questions were asked near the end of the interview. Pains were taken to guard confidentiality by disguising sources where appropriate. Particular care was taken in attributing comments and quotations to identifiable high-ranking officials and politicians. None but the researcher had access to interview records.

Some Problems in Using Interviews

Every method of data collection presents some difficulties, and writers have called attention to some dangers in using interviews. Manning remarked that every respondent presented a "partial self" in an interview, in order to try to make a good impression (1967:308). He warned researchers to expect that respondents, particularly those in high ranking positions, will hide controversies and make elaborate attempts to thwart an interviewer who seems as if he might expose problems (1967:307). For this reason, among others, he told researchers to be careful not to attribute meaning and significance to a story which relied totally on records of an interview (1967:311). Dean and Whyte made an even more telling criticism of the incautious use of data from interviews:

> The informant's statement represents merely the perception of the informant, filtered and modified by his cognitive and emotional reactions and reported through his personal verbal usages. (Cited in Dexter 1970:120)

All these writers point to the difficulty of avoiding simplistic and excessively coloured interpretations and telling the story in reasonable detail and complexity.

Some Checks Against Error and Bias

There are, however, methods of limiting the errors and biasses which appear in a piece of research. First, the researcher can be aware of the tendency noted above for respondents to present themselves in the best possible light, and can seek information which will balance the impression this will give him, perhaps by seeking out informants hostile to some respondents. Second, following the points made by Riesman and Benney (1956:235) and Dexter (1970:61) he can take pains to gather as much data as possible, not simply that which supports a favourite hypothesis, and re-examine data constantly. Third, Murphy (1980:69) suggested that researchers test material for its plausibility, its consistency with other facts and interpretations, the confidence the researcher has in it, its preciseness and detail, and the reputation of its author. Most of these precautions have been taken in this study, particularly the presentation of contradictions and the cross-checking of key facts and interpretations.

A final note by Dexter emphasized the need for neutrality and self-awareness in the researcher (1970:36). This raises the question of the role taken by the interviewer.

Roles in the Interview

A number of writers have discussed the issue referred to by Dexter as the transactional nature of the interview (1970:142). Maccoby and Maccoby stressed that the interviewer must occupy some role, generally that of enquirer, with the respondent acting as expert (1959:463). However, Gross and Mason found that those attempting to interview educational power brokers such as superintendents would fail even to gain admission unless they had an institutional sponsorship and, by implication, some familiarity with educational administration (cited in Maccoby and Maccoby 1959:463). This points to the need for interviewers, especially in elite interviewing, to have some institutional support, some knowledge of the field of study relevant to the interview, and, in all probability, some expertise in interviewing. It will be necessary for the interviewer to be expert in some areas if he is not to waste the time of important respondents: this suggests that the most critical respondents should not be interviewed until the interviewer has mastered at least the background reading of his study.

One other point should be made here. Several writers have argued that there is an advantage for an interviewer to be seen as an outsider. Hunt put the advantages and disadvantages thus:

> The fact that the interviewer is a foreigner may actuate perceptions that he is an impartial researcher who will protect respondents' anonymity. On the other hand, respondents may slur over esoteric details because they believe the foreigner will not understand them. (1964:61-62)

Maccoby and Maccoby took a different slant to the same question of interviewer detachment:

> [The interviewer] should be outside the power hierarchy in which the respondent normally finds himself. . . . under proper conditions people will talk to an interviewer who is a complete stranger more freely than they would to a personal friend or fellow-worker (England, 1949). (1959:463)

Finally, Dexter felt that respondents tell "harsh, bitter truths" more readily to an outsider than they do to others (1970:36). While there is a need for the interviewer, as Dexter said, to show empathy with respondents (1970:32), there is an advantage to be gained from detachment from current debates and controversies, and this advantage can be obtained by someone who is an outsider. If an outsider can gain familiarity with data, it is conceivable that he could write a careful, balanced study of events which were controversial.

Recording Interviews

The literature appears divided on the question of the best method of recording interviews. Maccoby and Maccoby listed the possible recording methods as (i) writing up the interview from memory, (ii) using forms to rate or code it, (iii) verbatim note-making and (iv) mechanical recording (1959:467). They averred that each method had its advantages and disadvantages (1959:468-469).

There are some obvious advantages in making a mechanical recording of the interview: according to Murphy the main one was that, under optimal conditions, it produced a more accurate record of the interview than would otherwise be obtained (1980:87). But the same writer felt that taperecording was expensive and time consuming (1980:87); in addition, he said,

> many [policy] analysts believe that most subjects clam up in the presence of a tape recorder because people are threatened by a verbatim transcript that might be used against them. (1980:87)

It appears that every method of recording information has advantages and drawbacks: even a television camera can fail to pick up subtle nuances or can be made to emphasize some aspect of the interview. The procedure adopted in this study has been to take brief notes during interviews and to type these up as soon as possible afterward. Critical pieces of information were confirmed either at the end of the interview or in follow-up correspondence.

Interview Sources

In all, twenty-one respondents were interviewed for the study. Two were revisited to check on items of special interest; in other cases, one interview, generally of about an hour and a half, proved satisfactory for data collection. Six former members of the Universities Commission were interviewed, as well as four former members of the Alberta Colleges Commission (both chairmen and staff were included). Two former Ministers were interviewed, and four former university presidents; four others from various postsecondary organizations were also interviewed. In addition, letters were exchanged with two others formerly involved in postsecondary education in Alberta.

As a number of respondents expressed concern regarding the use of their name in the study, sources have frequently been disguised. In other cases, descriptions of events have been made deliberately vague in order not to cause offence to personalities still living at the time of writing.

ARCHIVES AND DOCUMENTS

Written materials have been used in this study to support and check data collected from interviews. Murphy suggested that documents—or materials written at about the same time as the events to be studied—provided a fairly reliable source of detail about key events, as well as being a readily available source of background to these events (1980:121). The strengths of written material were summed up by a Chinese proverb: "The palest ink is clearer than the best memory" (cited in Webb et al. 1966:111).

Nevertheless, documents are not immune from distortion, bias and omission. Webb et al. pointed out that any documents were liable to present a slanted aspect of reality because of selective deposit of materials as well as their selective survival (1966:36f). A story appearing in a newspaper, for instance, can never be accepted without reference to the byline under which it appears, the editorial stance of the newspaper, and the similarities between the story and related stories. While a report on the same event might be sought from, say, a university source, it would be necessary for a researcher to compare diverse accounts from a number of sources before coming to a conclusion about events in dispute.

Two additional points are relevant here. Ranke argued that increased detachment could be obtained by studying events which had occurred some years in the past:

> I maintain that investigating the archives of times some distance removed from us has even an advantage over the description of that which lies before us in the present. The former allows us to recognise the true relations of things more comprehensively and clearly than is possible when these are in immediate connexion with the passions and interests of the moment. In every age how much must necessarily remain secret and is even purposely falsified! (1875:V,427-428)

Although documents decay, become mislaid and are destroyed, events tend to become less controversial in time, and the historian will usually gain better access to a fuller range of materials than will any contemporary writer; in addition, Ranke correctly said, it is easier to see events in perspective once they are removed from current debate.

Second, it is useful to check interview and archives data against secondary sources such as theses, journal articles, and published histories. These offer the advantage of detachment from the events they describe but, like archives, are normally written for a purpose, such as persuading the reader to one point of view or another. Ranke argued for consulting secondary as well as primary sources, for a reputable account, he declared,

> can only be obtained by a study of the original documents of the epoch, as well as of the elucidations, which a later age has contributed. (1875:V,428)

He summed up by saying:

> All hangs together; critical study of genuine sources,

> impartial view, objective description;—the end to be aimed at is the representation of the whole truth. (1875:V,428)

The careful scholar will aim to write with all possible sources being weighed and sifted, and the written account will gain thereby in detachment and authority.

Documents Reviewed

Documents studied for this dissertation fell into six main groups. First were the Universities and Colleges Acts and other legislative materials; the Scrapbook Hansard (to 1971) and the Alberta Hansard (from 1972) also fell into this category. Second were the minutes and papers of the Universities Commission and Alberta Colleges Commission. These provided much detail on the work done by the commissions and on their monthly meetings. Third were the other files and documents kept by the commissions and various branches of the government during the period 1966-73; these were found in the vault of the present Department of Advanced Education and Manpower. Fourth were the archives of the University of Alberta; these included materials such as some correspondence with the University of Calgary and minutes of the Universities Coordinating Council. Fifth, abstracts of submissions to the Worth Commission were made available to the researcher. Finally, the Edmonton Journal was studied for the period August to October, 1971.

BIAS AND EVIDENCE IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

The question of bias in the social sciences was raised by Myrdal, who wrote about the difficulty social scientists experience in avoiding biases which "lead to a false perception of reality" (1969:47). However, he also made the point that "Questions must be asked before answers can be given. The questions are all expressions of our interest in the world; they are at bottom valuations" (1969:9). If this is so, how can the researcher avoid being led by his interests and questions into complete subjectivity? One answer is provided by Webb et al.:

> Once a proposition has been confirmed by two or more independent measurement processes, the uncertainty of its interpretation is greatly reduced. The most persuasive evidence comes through a triangulation of measurement processes. (1966:3)

The present study has adopted this approach, essentially checking information obtained from interviews with that obtained from archives, published histories, and other written materials. Such a process does not eliminate the possibility of error—which is always present in research—but allows a cross-checking of important issues and questions, particularly if the strengths of one method are complemented by those of another.

SUMMARY

The methods of research used in the study may conveniently be summarized here. First, the "reputational" technique described by Hunter was used. Informants, or knowledgeable persons in contact with influential actors in postsecondary education in Alberta in the period under study, were asked to nominate those they regarded as the influential actors in postsecondary education. From these names, a list of influentials was collected by the researcher, and it was found that a core of names appeared with regular frequency. An effort was made to interview all those on the list, and two persons on it were subjected to return visits. The interviews themselves were given elite treatment: a relatively short list of questions was prepared, with special questions being used where appropriate to supplement more general ones so that subjects were asked questions appropriate to their experience. Efforts were made to secure trust and cooperation and the identity of key actors was masked in the cases where this seemed advisable to protect friendships and reputations. Simultaneously, archives and secondary sources were consulted as each step of the research proceeded and chapters were drafted. This allowed problems to be highlighted as they emerged and critical events were cross-checked. Finally, every effort was made to expose problems of interpretation and allow the reader to see how conclusions were reached.

The following chapter examines the problems in coordinating university education in Alberta until 1971.

Chapter 4

THE COORDINATION OF UNIVERSITIES IN ALBERTA TO 1971

This chapter and the next contain descriptions of university and college-level coordination in Alberta until 1971; attention will be given in a subsequent chapter to the complex process of transition to coordination by a government department. This chapter begins with the founding of the University of Alberta, and study is made of its relationship to government and the emergence of new universities in the years after World War II. Much of the chapter deals with the powers, methods of operation and characteristics of the Universities Commission; illustration of its work in coordination are presented, and an assessment made of the Commission's work.

EARLY COORDINATION OF UNIVERSITY EDUCATION

In common with other western provinces in Canada, Alberta moved to establish a university at about the time the province was founded. One of the first acts of the Legislature, indeed, was the founding of the University of Alberta. Alberta's first premier, Alexander Rutherford, moved the establishment of the University and he remained involved in university governance until 1941. The early years of the University were marked by a close relationship between the Government and the new institution, which was built, significantly, in Rutherford's own riding of Strathcona. Provincial governments chose the University's presidents, and Rutherford selected

Henry Marshall Tory as foundation president. Thus despite the angry protests of Calgarians, who had been led to believe that the provincial university would be located in their city, the University was safely established in Edmonton by the time of World War I (Berghofer and Vladicka 1981:3).

The University continued to prosper and expand during the early years of the United Farmer's Government (1921-35) as programs such as pharmacy, medicine and dentistry were added to those of arts and science. Some tension existed between the campus and the Government in the Depression years, when the UFA Government had to tell the University to implement salary reductions, and the budget was fixed over the President's protests. One significant decision of this era was to allow Mount Royal College, a private institution, to affiliate as a junior college of the University, permitting some opportunity for university education outside of Edmonton, although discretion over all university-level activities outside Edmonton was granted to a Committee on Junior Colleges within the University. Essentially the University was allowed control over all higher education in the province, although on occasions—as noted above—the provincial government set financial limitations on what it could do (Johns 1981).

The Social Credit Government

The University gained from the election of a Social Credit Government in Alberta in 1935. The new government was strongly sympathetic to education and gave the University a very free rein. A temporary problem appeared in 1941, when the University's president promised Premier Aberhart an honorary degree, which was denied him narrowly by a hostile vote of the Senate: President Kerr had to resign and the Government set up an inquiry which recommended changes in university governance. These were enacted by the Government, so that the power of the Senate was reduced, making General Faculty Council (as it then was) the body which exercised the academic powers formerly held by the Senate. After 1942, however, the friendly relationship between Government and University resumed (Johns 1981: 178f).

Postwar Expansion

Like the other Canadian universities, the University of Alberta experienced massive expansion in the years after World War II. Full-time enrolments rose from under 2,000 in 1939 to 4,280 in 1957-58 and were to rise again and again thereafter, leading to a pressing need for additional faculty and accommodation. Repeated expansion eventually created concern in the minds of government members and civil servants: Swift records that one Deputy Treasurer was so angered by the way in which the University spent its money that he could not bear to attend meetings of the Board of Governors (1981b: 22). Such concern was eventually to lead to a call for closer accounting for university expenditures and tighter coordination of university activities.

One early historian of the University explained the institution's position aptly when he said that it was "the true keystone in the arch of the general scheme of things" (Alexander 1933:3). A similar metaphor was used by Leslie to describe the situation existing before 1966:

> The University of Alberta was thus not merely the premier educational institution in the province; it occupied a controlling position at the apex of a provincial system of postsecondary education. (1980:80)

The only means of controlling university education, as far as the Government was concerned, was through the Board of Governors, on which sat its Deputy Provincial Treasurer and Deputy Minister of Education. Thus educational professionals were allowed almost untrammelled control of university education in Alberta. These circumstances would alter somewhat after 1966.

TOWARD DECENTRALIZATION

As Mr. Aalborg commented, the University of Alberta was considered until the mid-1960s as "the University for all of Alberta and not for a particular region" (Aalborg et al. 1966). By this time there were noisy demands for full university facilities in Lethbridge and for autonomy for the campus at Calgary.

Demands for a university at Calgary had existed from the province's foundation, and attempts had been made to establish one in the years before the First World War (Weston 1951:77). In 1945 the Normal School at Calgary was incorporated into the provincial university; soon afterwards, its principal obtained an administrative title and some local authority over the Calgary faculty, with the assistance of Dr. Swift on the Board of Governors (Swift 1981b:19). As enrolments and programs grew, so did demands for autonomy, especially after the institution moved from its facilities in the grounds of the Institute of Technology to its first buildings on a new site (Berghofer and Vladicka 1981:26).

Swift noted that the solution settled upon—that of a separate institution at Calgary—was by no means the only possible one. One alternative model was that of the University of California, he observed, continuing:

> It seemed to me, however, having regard to the increasing responsibilities being transferred to Calgary, and the general climate of opinion there, that the time for autonomy had come. Consequently prior to a board meeting I telephoned the chairman of the board, C. M. Macleod, and informed him that it was my intention to raise at the meeting the question of autonomy for Calgary. I think this must have been the meeting of 29 January, 1964 . . . In due course I proposed a motion. (1981b:36)

After a revised motion was passed, committees were established by the Board of Governors and by the Government and both received briefs and suggestions. Autonomy for the Calgary campus became a reality shortly thereafter by virtue of the Universities Act of 1966 (Johns 1981:357f).

THE ACT OF 1966

The Universities Act of 1966 made a number of changes in the pattern of university governance in Alberta. First, it established a University of Calgary (which included the Banff School of Fine Arts) and made allowance for further universities to be established. Second, it set up a Commission* of nine persons to oversee university programs and disburse monies to the universities in the province. Third, the Universities Coordinating Council, established in 1964, was reconstituted as an advisory body to the universities. Fourth, the Act set up a Universities Capital Development Committee to advise on the universities' needs in regard to land, landscaping, and additional buildings (Universities Act; Berghofer and Vladicka 1981:28).

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*Universities Commission: after May, 1968, Alberta Universities Commission.

The Act was drafted in its initial form by Dr. W. H. Swift, then Deputy Minister of Education, subject to the scrutiny of the Legislative Council. The Government arranged meetings throughout the province and obtained a wide spectrum of views on the new body and its relationship to government. Although the university community seem to have obtained their wishes in most respects—for instance on the form of the agency which would regulate them—their request that they be directly represented on the Commission was denied by Cabinet, presumably out of a desire to see a body which would be at arm's length from both government and the universities. Some of the questions raised in 1966—notably that of academic representation on the Commission—were to be debated throughout its existence.

Powers of the Commission

The powers of the agency may be discerned by studying the key provisions of Section 63 of the Act:

> The Universities Commission is empowered to
>
> (a) inquire into the financial needs of the universities and advise the government with regard to the granting of financial assistance for university purposes. . . .
>
> (f) require each university to submit to it from time to time such reports and other information as the Universities Commission may require;
>
> (g) regulate or prohibit
>
> (i) the extension, expansion or establishment of any service, facility, or program of study by a university so as to reduce or avoid an undesirable or unnecessary duplication of a similar service, facility or program of study already provided by a university, and

(ii) the establishment of a new school or faculty by a university.

(h) act as an intermediary between the Government and the universities and between universities; and shall do such other things as the Lieutenant Governor in Council may direct.

All members of the Commission were appointed by the Government. While the Chairman, a full-time officer, was to hold office at the Government's pleasure, other members were allotted a three-year term of office. Members, other than the Chairman, served without salary. Even a cursory reading of the Act shows that the Commission, while nominally independent of Government, was mainly a body established to give advice to the Government and disburse funds to the universities. The Government's powers over the agency were considerable and it could replace chairmen at will, give directions to the Commission or alter its composition or responsibilities, although its statutory responsibilities could be changed only by the Legislature.

Maddocks observed that the Commission's power over university programs was limited in a number of ways. First, it was given no control over programs which were unique in the province, as its power extended only to the prohibition of programs duplicating others. Second, assuming that such duplication seemed "undesirable or unnecessary" to the Commission, could the agency demonstrate this to the satisfaction of the universities and to government? Third, the term "program" was not defined in the Act, leading to misunderstanding and muddled debate on occasions (Maddocks 1972:93). Dr. Wyman's view of the Commission was one which was widely held:

> It was not supposed to meddle in the academic programs of the universities but to see that there was a minimum of needless duplication. Its purpose was mainly financial and equity. It was not supposed to act as an arm of government nor was it supposed to be a spokesman for the universities. It was to be an intermediary body that would assess the needs of the universities as it saw them and make recommendations to government. (Cited in Maddocks 1972:93)

Dr. Wyman's phrasing is significant: throughout its life, the Commission showed very great reluctance to "meddle in the academic programs of the universities," for reasons which will be suggested below. This left the Commission with these tasks: it acted as a clearinghouse for information, gave advice to governments and parcelled out money. The Commission was so reluctant to make regulations that it floated between the universities and government, becoming drawn, in the end, towards the role of spokesman for the universities.

Some key points need clarification here. First, how much control did the Commission have over universities? The Commissioners themselves were unsure: the minutes of their meetings make this abundantly clear. Although it had some executive powers—such as that of approving some programs and not approving others—they were essentially those of approving the programs which would receive provincial funding. If other sources of funding were forthcoming—as was the case when the University of Calgary made a bid to open a Faculty of Law in the Commission's last months—the Commission found it difficult to block the proposed program. Dr. Swift said much the same thing in a letter to President Armstrong of the University of Calgary on February 1, 1968, adding that the Commission's power was essentially that of "discussion and persuasion" (letter in correspondence of Universities Commission).

Second, if the Commission was, as Section 68 of the Act declared, an "intermediary" between the universities and governments, did this mean that universities were no longer able to make direct approaches to government? This was certainly the Commission's expectation, as stated by Dr. Swift, its first Chairman, in a memorandum to President Johns of the University of Alberta on July 28, 1966: "[The Act] would seem to imply that the universities will cease to have direct dealings with the Government and will instead deal through the Universities Commission" (letter in correspondence of Universities Commission). But the Act did not actually prohibit such approaches, nor could it prevent any person or institution from doing so: the same is true of any agency or semi-governmental body. If the universities exercised their right of access to government excessively, however, they would undermine the Commission's authority.

Third, the Commission did not have the power to decide that new universities would be established, nor to issue instructions as to their location. Such issues remained the prerogative of Cabinet. When controversy arose about the relocation of universities, however, the Commission could arguably have taken an influential role in settling it.

In sum, the Commission's reputation and status depended very greatly on its standing with the universities and with government. On one hand, governments could erode its power by ignoring its advice or overruling its decisions; on the other, it could come under fire from universities to a dangerous degree, or could come under one institution's domination. These issues were critical to the Commission's success; they also related to the problem of selecting its personnel.

COMPOSITION OF THE COMMISSION

Commission staff and board members were chosen largely by its Chairman and incumbent Minister for Education, although final decisions were made by Cabinet (Maddocks 1972:91). Like many agencies, the Commission had a full-time Chairman, a voluntary Board, and a permanent staff.

Chairmen of the Commission

The Commission's first chairman was Dr. W. H. Swift. He had been Deputy Minister of the Department of Education for twenty years and had told the Minister, Mr. Randy McKinnon, of his wish to step down. The Minister at length accepted this decision, on condition that Dr. Swift become Chairman of the Universities Commission. Dr. Swift had had a long association with education in Alberta and was clearly well qualified for the position he was assuming. He became Chairman of the Commission from its inception until his retirement in May, 1968 (Swift 1981a). He lent prestige and authority to the Commission; Dr. Byrne commented later "we didn't have effective Chairmen following him" (1977:63).

The second chairman was Dr. Andrew Stewart, who assumed office in May, 1968 and relinquished it in April, 1970. He had been President of the University of Alberta, 1951-59, and had carried out the Special Study on Junior Colleges in 1965.

When choosing the next chairman, Mr. Robert Clark, Minister for Education, was conscious of the need to demonstrate that the Commission was not tied to the senior university. Accordingly he chose

Dr. LeRoy Thorssen as third chairman. Dr. Thorssen had been a member of the Commission from its foundation until 1967, then Chairman of the Board of Governors of the University of Calgary. In an interview, Mr. Clark stressed that Dr. Thorssen had had no political connections at the time of his appointment apart from some Liberal Party contacts in Ottawa, but that while Chairman he decided to contest a seat in the provincial legislature for the Social Credit Party. Dr. Thorssen resigned the chairmanship to do so in June, 1971.

The fourth chairman was Mr. Leif Erickson. Like his predecessor, he had been a member of the Board of Governors at the University of Calgary. Mr. Erickson took office, in August, 1971, just before the Social Credit Government lost power. His resignation was demanded by the new Government, and obtained in November, 1971 (1971-72 Report of the Commission, and interviews).

The last chairman was Mr. Haughton Thomson. He took office in January, 1972 as a caretaker chairman, his services being leased from his firm until the Commission was disbanded in March, 1973 (1971-72 Report, and interviews).

It is difficult not to agree with Dr. Byrne's harsh verdict on the chairmen: he was, after all, on the Commission from its inception until May, 1971. Although the first chairman was a figure of prestige and ability, there was a danger in selecting chairmen who were too obviously identified with the University of Alberta. As the vast majority of available candidates had been associated with that university, the task of selection was not an easy one. The chairmen of the Commission's middle period, however, were too clearly connected with the University of Calgary—Dr. Thorssen transparently so. At the same time, the last appointments by the Social Credit Government could be accused, and were accused, of being political appointments, and the Commission gained nothing from becoming embroiled in arguments about political jobbery and legal settlements, as it was late in 1971. Finally, the Commission suffered from having too many chairmen—five in seven years—and from losing chairmen at critical times. These factors greatly limited the Commission's effectiveness and credibility in the eyes of universities and of governments.

Other Members of the Commission

The members of the Commission's board contributed to its work but were not as critical to it as were the chairmen. The contributions of Deputy Provincial Treasurers largely consisted, not surprisingly, in considering the financial implications of universities' requests. Of all the Deputy Ministers, Dr. Byrne stands out for his quick mastery of what the universities were trying to do and why they were trying to do it; almost as much as the later Commission chairmen, his contribution stressed the idea of a university system across the province and he repeatedly asked how "such-and-such" a program might contribute towards building it. By and large other members of the board seemed unfamiliar with university administration and reluctant to enquire too closely about it. A characteristic comment followed a discussion on academic planning:

> Dr. Scarlett said, as a layman, he was not qualified to make such highly technical decisions as were required of the Commission and therefore a body of knowledge must be secured by a group of specialists in order to help him make the decisions. (Meeting, January 10, 1967)

Similar comments followed representations from the University of Lethbridge:

> Mr. Stewart thought that the proposed program seemed fairly elaborate but presumably the people recommending it had given the matter very thorough study. Mr. Thomson said he would agree with the views of the Lethbridge people that they must have a broad program. . . . (Meeting, January 10, 1967)

The comments highlight a key problem about lay boards: are they competent, and willing, to ask questions about the need for proposals made by experts? At times the board members sounded almost as if they had abdicated their responsibilities, allowing any university proposal to pass provided the Commission staff raised no objections to it. In this sense the board members set the tone for the low-profile, tolerant position taken by the Commission most of the time; it is unfortunate that there are no detailed minutes available of meetings of the Colleges Commission which would allow a comparison to be made between them. While the comment of one member, that "the Commission is similar to a utilities commission" (Meeting, June 3, 1971), seems to represent some kind of functionalist extreme in views of what the Commission was, most members seem to have been content to support the opinions of the agency's staff. Although the board members apparently saw themselves as "wise men who sit and make judgements," a university president referred to them as "those poor commissioners, who have to sit there inundated with figures but with no possibility of real comprehension" (both quotations from Maddocks 1972:91). In any case, the Commission had to rely on its staff for most of its decisions, especially in day-to-day matters.

Staff of the Commission

The Commission's staff attended all its meetings, but did not have voting privileges. They had a very considerable effect on board members' decisions; one staff member said "It would be very rare that the Board would disagree" with staff judgements (Kristjanson, cited in Maddocks 1972:92).

Apart from a secretary seconded to the Commission from the Department of Education, the first staff member appointed to it was Mr. Brian McDonald, seconded from an administrative position at the University of Alberta. He was the Commission's secretary and did much of the statistical work associated with finances and enrolments. He returned to the university in 1968.

Mr. McDonald's replacement as secretary was Mr. Harvey Ford, who had been secretary of the academic planning committee at the University of Alberta. He was also seconded to the Commission, but decided to take permanent employment in it.

A retired brigadier, Mr. Bob Jones, formerly Campus Development Officer at the University of Alberta, was made Capital Planning Officer of the Commission in 1967 and remained with the agency until it was disbanded.

A key position was that of Academic Planning Officer, who was required to examine proposals made by universities for new programs. The position was widely and repeatedly advertised and after a considerable time Dr. A. M. Kristjanson from the University of Saskatchewan was appointed in 1967.

Two others worked on the Commission's staff for a time. One was Dr. Gulbrand Loken, former principal of Camrose Lutheran College. The other was Mr. Barry Snowden, who worked part time for the Commission from 1971 to 1973 and had been at the University of Lethbridge after studying at the University of Alberta. (Commission papers and meetings used to verify details on all staff.)

One fact stands out from the above listing of chairmen and staff: the vast majority had strong connections with the University of Alberta. In the eyes of the other universities, there was no question of the Commission's being dominated by the senior university: this complaint was made repeatedly by members of the University of Lethbridge (for instance, at the meeting of the Commission in November, 1968) and, as noted above, the perception was shared by Mr. Robert Clark when Minister for Education. The fact that staff members were seconded from the University of Alberta to the Commission did nothing to mitigate such criticisms: one such staff member said on one occasion "that the University of Alberta objected to the Commission and Government setting its priorities . . ." (Meeting of January 16, 1968). The conflict of loyalties here is obvious.

THE COMMISSION'S LOCATION

Much the same point can be made about the Commission's location. In its early days it was understandable that it settled close to the province's oldest university, but this became less acceptable as new universities became established and their presidents complained of the difficulty of gaining access to the Commission; this was especially relevant to the University of Lethbridge. The

Commission's offices, located in a building used by the University of Alberta in Garneau, Edmonton, were convenient to its staff, but it is worth noting that even in 1966 the Commission's vice-chairman, Dr. Macleod, said that if the Commission settled on such a site, "people might consider the Commission part of the University" (Meeting, October 4, 1966).

Although the Commission did not always meet in Edmonton, its records reveal that it scarcely met elsewhere except to a token degree:

	Meetings				
Year	Edmonton	Calgary	Lethbridge	Banff	Total
1967-68	8	2	1	-	11
1968-69	9	1	1	-	11
1969-70	11	1	-	1	13
1970-71	7	1	1	-	9
1971-72	8	1	-	-	9
1972-73	7	1	-	1	9

It might seem that the Commission's place of meeting was a trivial matter, and it is certainly true that the Colleges Commission held its regular meetings in downtown Edmonton. But there is a subtle difference between offices downtown and offices on an institution's campus, and the Universities Commission would have been less vulnerable to attack had it established offices downtown in one of the province's major cities. It seems likely that the sense of irritation prevalent in the University of Lethbridge as to its treatment by the Commission had a good deal to do with the agency's staff and location.

STYLE OF OPERATION

As a rule, the Commission allowed major business to accumulate for its meetings, held about eleven times a year. Day-to-day business conducted by staff included discussions with university administrators about proposed courses, collecting information about projected enrolments, and receiving reactions from presidents. On occasions a Minister for Education would address a meeting, although it seems that a more common arrangement was for a Minister to meet the Chairman alone: Mr. Clark, when Minister, met the Chairman for a weekly breakfast meeting (Clark 1981).

When it was felt necessary to do so, arrangements were made for institutional representatives to attend a meeting. For such purposes, the Commission would sometimes visit the institution to allow interaction with a number of members of the relevant university and, on occasion, with representatives from the city. These would state their case before retiring to allow the Commission's board and staff to come to a decision. In 1969, probably because of the Faculty of Environmental Design issue discussed in a case study below, universities began to ask for academic representation on the Commission. This was discussed and rejected by board members. Universities also requested open meetings: this request, too, was refused. Dr. Byrne mentioned these matters in a later interview, arguing that open meetings might have helped the Commission demonstrate its fairness (1977:63).

THE COMMISSION AS COORDINATOR

Early Priorities

Dr. Swift declared that the most immediate problems facing the Commission in its first year of operation were to find an acceptable formula for allocating funds, to establish principles for the approval of capital projects, to settle the distribution of assets and liabilities between the Universities of Alberta and Calgary, and to arrange for the satisfactory development of the two campuses so that the basis might be laid for a provincial university system (cited in Maddocks 1972:98). A less obvious priority was for the Commission to establish its authority over the universities, especially over the well-entrenched University of Alberta. This task was part of a larger problem, that of convincing the Government that it was competent to make fair judgements about university programs and finance.

Developing Formulas

The question of an adequate level of support for the universities was one which took up a good deal of the Commission's time. The level of support for the universities as a whole was determined by the number of full-time students enrolled in them on 1st December of any given year. Each year, the Commission recommended to Government a sum per student enrolled as general support for the universities. After consideration, the Government approved a sum and inserted it in the schedule to the Colleges and Universities Act. Expenditure plans were based on forecast enrolment; later, on estimated enrolment. As long as university enrolments rose this enrolment-driven formula allowed the universities increasing revenues; when they tapered off in 1971, the Commission had to grant decreasing sums or find a new formula. It chose the latter. An inflation factor was added to grants each year by Messrs. McDonald and Ford (interviews, 1981).

In deciding how to allocate funds among the universities, the Commission adapted a formula used in Ontario. Weights were attached to certain courses, from 1 in undergraduate arts to 8 in upper-year graduate agriculture. Special "first call" grants were provided for programs which needed funds to set up programs before students enrolled, and for the costs of basic administrative establishments (Maddocks 1972:102). The question of infant universities raised special problems. Accordingly, a bonus multiplier was used to assist the emergence of the University of Lethbridge and was revised as enrolments grew, although they did not rise as first expected (Maddocks 1972:103; McDonald 1981).

These financial arrangements appear to have been satisfactory in most respects. The question of the University of Lethbridge is an awkward one. The University was forced by political factors onto the Commission, which then had to make provision for its growth. Like a sickly infant, the University struggled on from year to year, neither becoming strong and healthy nor going to an early grave. Perhaps the members of the Commission secretly hoped for the latter, for although their financial provisions for Lethbridge were generous, they appeared to begrudge it new programs. This matter will be discussed further in a case study later in this chapter.

Approval of Doctoral Courses

While the Commission's powers over programs were not wide, consisting largely of allocating provincial funds for programs which did not "unnecessarily duplicate" other programs, it delegated some of the powers it possessed to a Provincial Appraisals Committee in 1969. This was a subcommittee of the Coordinating Council, consisted of institutional representatives, and reported to the Commission on new doctoral programs. The Committee chose two or three "internationally known experts," as it called them, from a list supplied by the university requesting the program: these made a report to the Commission and a decision was made on the viability of new programs and the need for them in western Canada (Meeting, March 21, 1969; Maddocks 1972:119-120).

Two points must be made about this mechanism. First, it gave away some of the Commission's rather modest powers to the universities and added to the diffusion of powers among the universities, the Commission and the Coordinating Council. The move appears to be further evidence of the Commission's reluctance to refuse university requests and of its preference for spreading responsibility among a number of bodies. Second, the Committee accepted all requests for doctoral programs. While this procedure seemed generally acceptable in 1969, by 1970 the government was becoming concerned by the profusion of graduate programs and their alleged predominance in university education (Meeting, October 26 and 27, 1970).

Developing a Master Plan

In the first years of the Commission, procedural and financial matters were predominant. Little control was exercised over new programs, which were introduced at will by the universities "on the quite well-founded assumption that money would be found to support them" (Maddocks 1972:114). When the need for academic planning became clear in 1967, Dr. Kristjanson was appointed as Academic Planning Officer. He argued that any program should be rejected if it did not fit a plan for university development within Alberta, and called for the creation of a master plan. Accordingly, an Academic Master Plan Steering Committee was set up, though with some reservations among members of the Commission: one board member expressed the fear that a master plan would "make the Commission a 'superboard,' reducing the universities' autonomy" (Meeting, February 20, 1968). Such fears were nothing compared to the determined opposition and non-cooperation which came from many in the universities: eighteen months later Dr. Kristjanson was still trying to get a plan accepted by the universities. Personality conflicts and resistance to provincial planning (which would limit universities' power to offer programs) appear to have prevented such a plan from ever coming into existence (correspondence and interviews with former staff members of the Commission, 1981).

Extending Degrees

One matter proved troublesome to the Commission. This was the question of the number of years of study appropriate to given degrees. Towards the end of 1968 the University of Lethbridge told the Commission of its decision to make its arts and science degrees of four years' duration. The Chairman of the Commission, Dr. Stewart, questioned this decision, but made no serious attempt to reverse it; in retrospect the move seems an obvious, if understandable, move by the small university to increase enrolments. The Commission consulted the Coordinating Council and was told that universities themselves were competent to make such decisions. As the Coordinating Council was composed solely of institutional representatives, and was chaired at that time by the president of the University of Lethbridge, such a decision was hardly surprising. The Commission was in a dilemma. Should it attempt to dissuade the universities from extending their degrees at will? Dr. Byrne pointed out that such extensions had ramifications throughout the province, particularly in a time of teacher shortage; in addition, they made university education more expensive, especially if the Lethbridge proposal was imitated by the major universities. The reaction of the Commission as a whole is significant:

> Some members felt that the Commission must take some action on this matter. Others felt that the Commission had no authority in this area, other than that which it could exercise through financial control. (Meeting, January 21, 1969)

By February of the following year the University of Calgary was following the Lethbridge initiative, and the University of Alberta eventually followed. The matter illustrates the Commission's reluctance to interfere with university prerogatives, and while government made no apparent objection at the time, such events were to become increasingly important as costs continued to grow.

THE ROLE OF THE COORDINATING COUNCIL

It is impossible to consider the role of the Commission without bearing in the mind the work of the Coordinating Council, for the two bodies had overlapping roles. Frequently a question of coordination was referred to the Council, which might make a ruling or might refer the matter back to the Commission. Relations between the two were never harmonious, and became distinctly strained, especially when the question of the faculty of architecture was being resolved. On other occasions it was found that both bodies were considering the same issues—as was discovered in September, 1970 in regard to the issue of transferability (Meeting of the Commission, September 15, 1970). On another occasion Dr. Stewart, as Chairman, presented the Commission with an article on formula financing.

> He referred members to the conclusion—"if the universities will not act in concert, the government will impose solutions on them." The Chairman said that possibly the Coordinating Council could be the body to provide this coordination in Alberta, and he had written to Dr. Smith in this regard . . . If the Coordinating Council will not accept this responsibility, then the Commission will have to fill the void. (Meeting, February 18, 1969)

Which body was supposed to "accept the responsibility" for coordinating university education in Alberta? The ambiguity and uncertainty of the Commission's position is very clear in this discussion, and its reluctance to take an offensive position is even clearer in some case studies of its operation.

CASE STUDY: FOUNDING THE UNIVERSITY OF LETHBRIDGE

The University of Lethbridge was always given special treatment by the Commission, but the institution's spokesmen continually complained of unsympathetic treatment. A number of developments in the institution's life were clearly political, particularly its genesis.

Origin of the University

Lethbridge had a small and vocal group of spokesmen in the years after World War II who persistently demanded better educational facilities for the city. A Lethbridge Junior College opened in September, 1957 in response to such demands, but many of those associated with the college dreamed of, and continued to demand, a university. College board members, supported by the city's Chamber of Commerce and Trades and Labor Council, petitioned Alberta's Legislature in 1964 to allow degree status to the college in 1964 (Holmes 1972:11). Two members of the college board, W. J. Cousins, Dean of its University Section, and Kate Andrews, Chairman of the Board, were particularly active in demanding a university and repeatedly expressed their demands to the Minister for Education (Snowden 1981; Holmes 1972:11f).

By the mid-sixties the Social Credit Government's resistence to these demands had weakened noticeably. Premier Manning admitted the possibility of a university in a letter to the city in December, 1964, although he mentioned no commencement date. By July, 1966 the matter had progressed further, for in that month Mr. Randy McKinnon, Minister for Education, and Dr. Swift, newly appointed Chairman of the Universities Commission, attended a meeting of the Lethbridge

Junior College. The Minister declared "You've been asking for a university, well now you have it!" "Thank you, Mr. McKinnon," replied Mrs. Andrews (Holmes 1972:37).

As Dr. Byrne remarked during a meeting of the Commission, the decision to open a university in Lethbridge was clearly a political one (Meeting, November 19, 1968). The Commission was caught in an awkward position, merely being told what was being done and not consulted on the matter in any real sense. Dr. Swift's comments at a meeting of the Commission in August, 1966 that "the Government had not asked the Commission to concern itself with these and other questions concerning the development of higher education in the City of Lethbridge" conceal a good deal of anxiety about the implications of what had been done at Lethbridge.

While the question of new institutions is normally a matter for government, one of Dr. Swift's concerns was clearly whether a city of Lethbridge's size would support a university. But part of his anxiety had to do with the matter of the Minister's announcement, made in Dr. Swift's presence at Lethbridge. Mr. McKinnon had not said that the junior college had become a university, nor that a totally new institution would be established on a new site. The result was confusion in the city about whether the city had one institution or two. One plausible suggestion is that the Government had created the muddle by forgetting to dissolve the college board (Snowden 1981).

Nature of the University

The confusion had lasting effects on the University, which emerged slowly from the university section of the junior college. In 1968, Dr. Stewart, the Commission's Chairman, and others disagreed about the nature of the University in a discussion with Dr. Beckel, a member of its staff:

> . . . the Chairman said that, when Lethbridge was established, there would seem to have been an implicit understanding that it would be patterned after the three year liberal arts colleges. Dr. Byrne said that the University of Lethbridge was really a political decision. Those making the decision probably thought of it as an expansion of the Junior College to a four year institution. . . .
>
> Dr. Beckel said Lethbridge was established as a university and thus must act as one. (Meeting, November 19, 1968)

Was the institution at Lethbridge a liberal arts college or, as Dr. Beckel insisted, a full university? Another possibility was mooted at the next meeting of the Commission: that Lethbridge was a teaching university at which faculty did not necessarily conduct research (Meeting, June 18, 1968). While the spokesmen for the University were insistent that it was, however small, a full university, members of the Commission tended to regard it as a teaching institution "on the model of the state colleges in California" (Meeting, August 20, 1968). More than any other matter, the continuing confusion and debate about the nature of the University of Lethbridge pointed to the need for a university master plan for Alberta: but as explained earlier, this had not been agreed on and agreement was not forthcoming.

Establishing New University Courses

The infant University had many difficulties, not only in finding its role, but in choosing programs which were appropriate to it. Initially it had only arts and science, that is, the courses which had been offered in the university section of the junior college. Discussions between Drs. Leskiw and Beckel (of the University) and the Commission in 1968 focussed on a key issue: should the University offer the same programs as did the other provincial universities? If so, the University might be accused of unnecessary duplication of programs; if not, what distinctive programs should it offer, and should students be expected to travel some distance to Lethbridge to complete them? Discussion continued: Dr. Beckel explained his search for appropriate programs, but asked how he could find suitable programs given the absence of a master plan (Meeting, November 19, 1968). The Commission expressed sympathy for the University, but was ultimately unhelpful. As a result, the University returned to the methods which had led to its creation. Leskiw took the matter to the Legislature, as Holmes relates:

> One day five of us travelled to Edmonton on one of those gut-rending daylong return flights to confer with the universities commission on several matters of mutual interest. When the meeting terminated at noon, we dined as guests of the commission. One portion of the conversation proved unappetizing. Some commissioners informally expressed opposition to early development of a Faculty of Education at Lethbridge. Knowing the machinery that Russ [Leskiw] had set in motion for just such a purpose, and his vital interest in its success, I was perplexed at Russ' failure to join battle. However later on the way to the airport Russ instructed the chauffeur to stop at the provincial legislative building. With nary a word of explanation, he marched into the building. About twenty minutes later he returned with an obvious air of satisfaction and our journey resumed. (Holmes, 1972:88)

At the March, 1967 meeting of the Commission it was announced that, indeed, a Faculty of Education would be established at Lethbridge.

Falling Enrolments

Full-time enrolments at the University grew from 639 in 1967 to slightly in excess of 1,400 in 1970, but expansion stopped in that year. By this time it was obvious that the government had overestimated the demand for university education in Alberta, especially in the south-west of the province, and it was becoming apparent that the University of Lethbridge was a costly mistake.

Moving the University Across the River

It was almost inevitable that the University's administration would want to establish it on a more permanent site. Dr. W. A. S. Smith, appointed president in 1968, commissioned a survey which suggested that the west bank of the Oldman River was the desirable site. When the University decided that this was to be the institution's future home, news broke on the city like a call to arms. Two factions promptly appeared, one for the proposed move, another favouring a different site. A meeting was held in the city condemning President Smith as a dictator; among Dr. Smith's critics were the local member of the Legislature and a spokesman for the Church of Latter Day Saints. Accusations of land speculation were made by both sides, petitions were sent to the Legislature and confusion reigned for some months. Cabinet responded, first by asking a study committee to investigate the matter, then by insisting that the city hold a referendum on it. The University's administrators refused to consider the idea of a referendum nor would they countenance changing their minds on the site. While angry communications flew between the University and the Cabinet, the Commission stood aside. Finally Premier Manning gave in and allowed the University to move to the west bank (Holmes 1972:121f, and Snowden 1981).

This controversy was somewhat threatening to the Commission. The west site had been approved by Dr. Andrew Stewart, Chairman-designate, and the Commission at its April, 1968 meeting. Mr. Bob Jones of the Commission's staff had been a member of the study commission which had recommended the move, and the Commission had already approved a grant for construction when the controversy blew up. When the arguments flew, however, the Commission cautiously stood back; its contribution to settling the dispute seems to have been minimal.

This case study has attempted to highlight critical incidents in the emergence of the University of Lethbridge. A number of salient facts emerge from it. First, while the Commission seemed to do everything in its power to assist the University except to find new courses for it, that institution felt neglected by the Commission, probably with justification. Part of the explanation is that the Commission was remote from the University in distance and travelling time, and administrators from the University seem to have experienced difficulty in communicating with Commission staff. Further, as noted above, no members of the Commission had had any connection with the University of Lethbridge until Mr. Barry Snowden became a part-time member of the Commission's staff. Second, attitudes of presidents of the University toward the Commission seemed to harden as years passed by: later presidents of the University frequently bypassed it to go straight to the Minister. Finally, the University was created by politics and kept alive by means of political pressure: in repeated arguments with the Commission, Lethbridge's political fighters won repeatedly. While such methods ensured the survival of the University, they did little to enhance the Commission's reputation.

CASE STUDY: FOUNDING ATHABASCA UNIVERSITY

Early Moves Toward a New University

In the 1960s there were very great increases in student numbers in the universities as well as continued predictions that universities could expect further expansion throughout the 1970s. The University of Alberta's tremendous growth began to arouse concern in the Government, which felt that such a large university, particularly one increasingly preoccupied with graduate programs, was not the ideal university for freshmen. Thus the problems of size as far as the senior university were concerned, and the idea of a new university, were discussed almost from the first meeting of the Commission.

However, considerable debate went on about what type of institution was needed. One possibility, a religious college or university, was advanced by some leading churchmen and considered by Cabinet in early 1967. Cabinet rejected the idea, so that the choice became basically that of a new institution, or expansion of the University of Alberta. In September, 1967 Mr. Raymond Reierson, Minister for Education, announced that the matter would be shelved for the time being (Hughes 1980:8-9). Even at this stage Dr. Byrne remarked that what was required was not a university at all, but a middle-level institution, perhaps "like the state colleges of California" (Meeting, August 20, 1968). Others on the Commission, however, were convinced that a fourth university was required and could not decide what arrangements to make to provide for it.

The St. Albert Site

At a meeting of the Commission in December, 1969, Mr. Robert Clark, the new Minister for Education, announced that a new university was again under active consideration. By January the Government had fixed on St. Albert, near Edmonton, as the best site. The Government committed itself to a campus of 5,000 students, which the Commission would plan forthwith. Mr. Clark's clear intention was for an undergraduate university which would stress good teaching and provide some overdue competition for the University of Alberta (Commission meetings, Mr. Clark's White Paper cited in Hughes 1980:59ff, and Clark 1981). The Commission was fully involved in planning the new institution. Mr. Bob Jones helped choose the site, an ad hoc committee of Drs. Bryne and Kristjanson and Dr. Worth of the University of Alberta and others formulated the University's plan, and Dr. Kristjanson chaired the selection committee for a president (Hughes 1980:11; Meeting, April 21, 1970).

At the same time, the new University was closely tied to the Social Credit Government, then in its last year in office. Three or four members of the University's interim governing authority had close links with the Social Credit League, one of whom was the League's former treasurer. Hughes suggested that the name Ernest C. Manning University was considered, but fortunately dropped in favour of Athabasca University (1980:12).

Slowdown

Dr. Byrne was made the new institution's president in May, 1971, but its position was very precarious. The demand for university places tapered off suddenly, making the University virtually redundant, and its strong links with the Social Credit League did not endear it to the Conservative Government which took office in August, 1971. These points were not lost on Dr. Byrne, who remarked, in a brief appearance at a Commission meeting in September, "One might question at this time whether a fourth university is necessary in Alberta . . ." (Meeting, September 28, 1971).

Significance

At a time when the Commission was having some difficulty with the non-continuity of its chairmen, it had become heavily involved in planning the new University. The fact that it had been established at all could have reflected on the Commission, which could have been blamed, unfairly, for establishing new institutions in times of falling enrolment. Moreover, the University had a Social Credit taint. In sum, therefore, the University was something of an albatross around the Commission's neck and its future in September, 1971 was hardly bright. Nor, for a variety of reasons, was that of the Commission.

CASE STUDY: THE FACULTY OF ENVIRONMENTAL DESIGN

One case study of the Commission at work cannot be ignored. This is the case of a faculty of architecture, first proposed for the University of Alberta but eventually located at the University of Calgary. The case is important as it demonstrates the Commission's relations with government, with the universities, and with the Coordinating Council; it is also significant because it helped sour relations between the Commission and the senior university. Although the case has been discussed by two writers (Leslie 1980:80; Maddocks 1972:122) neither has isolated the key events in the case and one, Maddocks, seems misleading and incorrect in his summary of it.

The University of Alberta said it wished to open a faculty of architecture during the Commission meeting of May 21, 1968. It was recommended that a study be made to examine the need for such a school, and the question of need in western Canada was referred to the Inter-Provincial Committee on University Rationalization. The question was not discussed at the June meeting, although Dr. Stewart, the Chairman, announced that Dr. Govier would be joining the Commission to replace Mr. Mackenzie: Dr. Govier was Chairman of the Energy Conservation Board and a part-time faculty member of the University of Calgary, and was to play a key role in the ensuing controversy.

At the meeting of the Commission on November 19, 1968, Dr. Govier raised the question of the location of the proposed School of Environmental Design. Its location in Edmonton, as proposed by the study mentioned earlier, was wrong, he said, as each university should have its share of professional faculties (one assumes he excluded the University of Lethbridge from such consideration). At the December meeting, Dr. Govier repeated his arguments, saying that "In terms of the provincial university system, it should be located at Calgary." The consensus of the meeting was that in accord with the need for developing such a system, "new faculties should be established in Calgary unless there are compelling reasons for not so doing." The Commission declared that it was disposed to see the school at Calgary but decided to convene a meeting of the two universities "to clarify the matter" (Minutes, December 17 meeting). Nobody at the meeting put the contrary view: like all the Commission meetings, this one operated by consensus, not by majority vote. Plainly the Commission as a whole, and Dr. Stewart in particular, wanted to see the new faculty in Calgary, as did the Government, though it stayed aloof from the matter (Clark 1981). There is reason to suspect that Dr. Govier, in speaking for his university, was speaking also for the Commission and the Government, neither of which wished to assume the role of spokesman against the University of Alberta.

The issue now moved to the Coordinating Council, which had accepted the original request by the University of Alberta to have the faculty located there. At the April meeting of the Commission, Dr. Stewart said that the Council "seemed to be having difficulty coming to a decision"; after some cautious discussion, members decided that the matter must be resolved and voted a "first call" grant for establishing the school in Calgary. At the same time the question of the location of other professional schools—medicine and engineering—was being debated, and Dr. Stewart was talking increasingly of the need to think in terms of a university system (Meeting of April 15, 1969).

The meeting of the Coordinating Council in April, 1969 decided the matter. The meeting was held in Calgary, and the delegates from Edmonton had to travel down by aeroplane. But two of them missed their flight, and telephoned to say that they were driving down instead. The Chairman began the meeting without them. Dr. Johns' motion endorsing the earlier decision to locate the faculty at Edmonton was ruled out of order. A motion that this decision be revoked was put to the meeting and the vote was taken. The nine Calgary delegates voted for the Calgary location; the seven Alberta delegates present voted against it; all the Lethbridge delegates, including the Chairman, abstained (Council Minutes, April 29, 1969). This account contradicts Maddocks' claim that the vote on the Council was swung by the Lethbridge representatives, who reversed the original decision to locate the faculty in Edmonton (1972:122).

Such a comedy of errors only heightened the rage at the senior university. Accusations of cowardice and unfairness were made by its spokesmen, the legality of the decision was denounced, and the Council labelled as "impotent" (Meeting of the Commission, July 8). The press in both cities hotly debated the matter, which had been allowed to fester for more than a year.

The results of the bitter debate might have been predicted. There had to come a time when the Commission stood up to the University of Alberta: perhaps it chose the wrong issue. Certainly the "to-ing" and "fro-ing" between the Commission and the Council impressed nobody as good governance of the universities. Although the Government and the Commission clearly felt it necessary to disperse prestigious faculties between the major universities, the senior university did not see the necessity and certainly did not appreciate the methods used for imposing it. The Commission seemed to take the brunt of the University's anger, and it had certainly failed to take a stand on the matter until circumstances forced it to do so. A determined stance when the matter first arose might have saved it from the odium it received subsequently.

The case demonstrated, essentially, that when it came to difficult decisions, the Commission acted with trepidation rather than with courage. The public bickering, the Edmonton-Calgary rivalries, and the curious events at the key meeting of the Council, showed that the university system was not governed effectively. From mid-1969 onwards, relations among the parties in the university system of governance became more rancourous and the Commission's decisions became more difficult.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

This chapter has comprised, to this point, a survey of the development of universities in Alberta, and attention has been given to some of the more critical events in this development. Close study has been made of the Universities Commission and its efforts in coordinating universities, and case studies in coordination have been presented to illuminate the Commission's work.

Some preliminary words about the Commission's work are in order here, although a full assessment is made in a later chapter. First, a university system had begun to emerge: there were four universities in existence, and the whole of university education was no longer dominated by the senior university. Second, procedures had been established for program approval and finance.

However, the Commission had had problems in some areas. Two of the universities had failed to develop past infancy; this was not entirely the Commission's fault, but might be counted as failure. Second, the Commission had had much difficulty in getting out of the shadow of the major university, which tended to dominate the agency, provide its staff, and resent "interference" in its programs. Third, the Commission's poor reputation seems to have compounded its difficulties in attracting and retaining well-qualified staff members. Finally, the failure to establish and enforce a master plan was symptomatic of the Commission's failure to think in terms of a system of university education most of the time: largely, individual universities retained the initiative in program provision, while political considerations dictated a number of critical decisions. The result was that the Commission's record was a rather patchy one.

Chapter 5

THE COORDINATION OF COLLEGE-LEVEL EDUCATION IN ALBERTA TO 1971

This chapter contains a description of institutions and methods of governance of college-level institutions in Alberta up to 1971. It begins with a survey of developments before 1967 leading to the creation of agricultural colleges, normal schools, technical and vocational institutions, and junior colleges. Next, the events leading to the establishment of a Provincial Board of Postsecondary Education are examined, and particular attention is paid to that body's attempts to coordinate all postsecondary education outside of the universities and private colleges. Following this, substantial attention is given to the Colleges Commission. Selected case studies in the Commission's work are presented and aspects of its coordinating work are examined before an assessment is made of its performance.

A SURVEY OF INSTITUTIONS TO 1967

In this section, only a short survey of developments in the non-university sector of public education in Alberta is made, although reference is made to some private colleges which became affiliated with the University of Alberta. No attempt is made to record all significant events or note key personalities.

Agricultural Colleges

In 1913 Alberta's Department of Agriculture established schools of agriculture on three farms at Olds, Vermilion and Claresholm. A Board of Agricultural Education was established to supervise these schools, its first chairman being Dr. H. M. Tory, President of the University of Alberta. In 1920 further schools were opened at Raymond, Youngstown and Gleichen. From their inception there was debate over how the schools were to be administered, the Conservative Opposition taking the view that they ought to be controlled by the Department of Education. Considerable conflict between the Departments of Agriculture and Education was evident in the period to 1930 (Birdsall 1975:2-3).

The schools experienced some difficulties in the period between the two world wars. Agricultural depression forced the closing-down of the schools at Gleichen and Youngstown in 1922, and those at Vermilion and Raymond followed suit in 1923, although classes at Vermilion reopened in 1924. Continuing small enrolments in the schools prompted Mr. E. W. Hinman, then Provincial Treasurer, to condemn them in the 1940s as useless and wasteful; he suggested that it would be more efficient for Alberta to send students to study agriculture in the United States. A further school was opened at Fairview in 1951. The Government determined to close it after it was almost totally destroyed by fire in 1958, but this was forestalled by a strong campaign by local residents (Birdsall 1975:5).

The schools regained some of their morale after Mr. Harry Strom became Minister for Agriculture in October, 1962. The idea of agricultural education was widened, and the institutions were renamed agricultural and vocational colleges. But they remained largely aloof from other tertiary institutions, and their administration rested with the Department of Agriculture. The relationship between agricultural education and the remainder of postsecondary education was as yet unresolved (Birdsall 1975:9).

Normal Schools

Alberta's Department of Education established normal schools for the training of teachers in Calgary (1906), Camrose (1912) and Edmonton (1920). However, low enrolments in these institutions between the two world wars prompted the temporary closing of the Edmonton Normal School from 1923 to 1928 and from 1933 to 1935; the institution at Camrose closed permanently in 1938. Henceforth teacher education was carried on in two institutions, one adjacent to the provincial university. The University established a School of Education in 1929 and after some negotiations it was agreed that primary responsibility for training secondary teachers would be given to the University, while the normal schools continued to train elementary teachers. In 1945 the provincial government transferred responsibility for teacher education to the University, which took over responsibility for the normal schools in Edmonton and Calgary (Berghofer and Vladicka 1981:9).

Technical and Vocational Education

Technical and vocational education in Alberta emerged partly as an unintended result of Calgarians' agitation for a university. Demands for a university-level institution in Calgary were made repeatedly until the provincial government established the Falconer Commission to examine the question in 1914. The Commission recommended an institution of technology and art for the city, which was opened by the Government in 1916. This shared its campus with Calgary's Normal School from 1922 (Simon 1962:33f).

Although technical education grew in numbers and significance after the Second World War, the most dramatic events did not occur until the 1960s. The Calgary institute was renamed the Southern Alberta Institute of Technology, while a Northern Institute was opened in 1960. Both enjoyed an infusion of Federal finances after the Technical and Vocational Training Act of 1960 consolidated federal-provincial costsharing arrangements in various institutions. The institutes stressed engineering technologies, health sciences and apprenticeship training and they remained under separate administration within the Department of Education throughout the period under study (Berghofer and Vladicka 1981:29).

A new group of institutions began with the establishment of Alberta Vocational Centres in Calgary, Edmonton and Fort McMurray in 1965. These centres, particularly those in the province's two major cities, mainly concentrated on academic upgrading. They were governed, like the institutes of technology, by the Division of Vocational Education in the Department of Education (Berghofer and Vladicka 1981:29-30 and files on technical and vocational education in Alberta Colleges Commission documents).

Private Colleges

A large number of colleges were founded by religious denominations over the period 1903-67, and it is not possible to discuss all of them here. Alberta College was established by the Methodist Church in 1903 and Alberta College South, a theological seminary, in Strathcona, near the provincial university, in 1911. The same church began Calgary College in 1912 (as detailed in the previous chapter) and Mount Royal College in Calgary in 1910, while the Lutheran Church created Camrose Lutheran College in the same year. These colleges, partly school-level, partly tertiary and partly theological, were the early models for college education in Alberta (Berghofer and Vladicka 1981:6).

In 1930 an application was made by Mount Royal College to offer a range of arts and science courses in affiliation with the University. The University's Senate responded by formulating regulations to govern college affiliation, and by creating a Committee on Junior Colleges to administer them. Agreement with conditions laid down by the University allowed Mount Royal College to become Alberta's first junior college. Camrose College also gained affiliation in 1959 (Berghofer and Vladicka 1981:12,24).

Public Colleges

A movement demanding university facilities began in Lethbridge about 1949. In 1950 Dr. S. V. Martorana was commissioned to write a report on the matter: this recommended a thirteenth year program in the high schools, but instead, the Government decided to establish a public college to offer university transfer and vocational programs. With the support of President W. Johns of the University of Alberta, the Lethbridge Junior College was opened as an affiliated junior college of the University. An Order in Council was also made to allow the establishment of the new college. In the following year, 1958, a Public Colleges Act made Lethbridge the pattern for future public colleges, which could be established on condition of approval from the Minister for Education and the University, and colleges were founded at Red Deer (1964), Medicine Hat (1965), and Grande Prairie (1966) (Long 1979:36f).

Thus by the 1960s Alberta had a scattering of public colleges, all dependent for funds on both local communities and the provincial government, and all largely controlled by the University (universities after 1966) which kept an overview of programs and checked the qualifications of college faculty who taught transfer programs. As time passed, the colleges began to grow resentful of the universities' supervision, while members of the Government, particularly Mr. Anders Aalborg, Minister for Education 1952-64, wanted to encourage non-university programs in the colleges. In order to study the colleges and their relationship with the University, a Survey Committee on Higher Education was established under Mr. Aalborg's chairmanship in 1961 (Long 1979:42; Aalborg et al. 1966).

The Survey Committee consisted of members of the Government and of the University. The Committee accepted Mr. Aalborg's suggestion that the role of the colleges needed examination and commissioned Dr. Andrew Stewart, formerly President of the University, to study the matter. Dr. Stewart's report urged that the non-university sector be systematized, saying that some of the colleges—notably Red Deer—

were aspiring to university status and were not interested in community programs; a regional model for organizing college education was suggested to get the new institutions onto a more secure footing (Stewart 1965; Aalborg et al. 1966).

The Government now moved to consult educators to see if the proposals were acceptable and workable. Two provincial conferences were called by the new Deputy Minister of Education, Dr. Byrne; at the first, university faculty, trustees, and administrators met to discuss the Stewart proposals and other developments in college education throughout Canada. At the second, one hundred and fifty educators and others met to discuss college education and consider a draft Act Respecting Post-Secondary Regions, inspired in part by Stewart's regional plan for the colleges. But a consensus did not emerge, while major objections were made to the "Non-Act": this was accordingly withdrawn, and the Government decided to investigate other ways of raising the status of the colleges. While the "Non-Act" seemed threatening to some of the conference participants, an easier path lay open: a provincial board of postsecondary education could be established to oversee the colleges. This seemed more acceptable and would entail only minor amendments to the Public Junior Colleges Act. Dr. Byrne discussed this plan with senior administrators in the junior colleges, made some minor modifications to them, and the new Minister, Mr. Randy McKinnon, agreed to take them to Cabinet. Cabinet agreed with most of the recommendations, and a Board of Postsecondary Education was established in 1967. Dr. Mowat, of the University of Alberta's Department of Educational Administration, became Chairman in July and the Board's membership was finalized in November (Long 1979:92; Byrne 1977:59-60; Small 1972:123-124).

By 1967, postsecondary education in Alberta had developed somewhat from the scattered, over-decentralized institutions offering various types of education which had existed in the era of the First World War. A number of these had closed or ceased to expand by the 1960s, allowing education to become very largely dominated by institutions in Edmonton and Calgary. The period 1950-66 was the high point in the University of Alberta's dominance of postsecondary education: it had campuses in both major cities, it had a number of colleges largely dependent on it, and it was very close to government. Coordination, such as it was, was exercised by the University in concert with the Government, and even enquiries into education were carried out by the University's staff, usually with the assistance of Cabinet Ministers or civil servants. The creation of the Board of Postsecondary Education would change this situation, as Dr. Byrne and the Government fully intended.

THE PROVINCIAL BOARD OF POSTSECONDARY EDUCATION

In this section the work and scope of the Board will be examined. Attention is given to some problems of the emerging colleges, although institutions outside the Board's jurisdiction are also surveyed.

The Provincial Board was an agency of the Department of Education. Its function was to report to the Deputy Minister about developments in the non-university sector, to study its needs and to assess the financial needs of the junior colleges. In practice, it frequently reported directly to the Minister, particularly under Dr. Mowat's leadership (Mowat 1981).

Composition

The Board's Chairman was an employee of the Department of Education. He had an executive assistant—also a Departmental employee—and this duumvirate did much of the Board's work in its earliest days. The Board's membership consisted of representatives of the Department of Agriculture, the Department of Education, the Alberta Teachers' Association, the Alberta School Trustees' Association, the junior colleges, Alberta school superintendents, the public school system, the University of Alberta and the Universities Commission. All major educational groups in Alberta were thus represented on the Board, and the government accepted Dr. Mowat's recommendations on its membership, with one exception (Small 1972:126).

Dr. Byrne chose Dr. Gordon Mowat to chair the Board. Dr. Mowat had been outspoken in his support for the junior colleges, which he felt should be freed from their domination by the universities in regard to transfer programs (Mowat 1981). He had also condemned the junior colleges' tendency to emulate the universities, arguing that instead of being selective of students they should "serve anybody over the age of compulsory attendance in public schools regardless of educational background, under generous admission conditions" (cited in Long 1979:60). Dr. Mowat was a Departmental employee as Director of Community and Junior Colleges, on leave from the Department of Educational Administration at the University of Alberta. He was Chairman of the Board for a year from July, 1967, after which he returned to the University (Mowat 1981).

Mr. Henry Kolesar was the first executive assistant on the Board, and Chairman after Dr. Mowat's departure. He was a doctoral student in the Department of Educational Administration at the time of this first appointment. Like Dr. Mowat, he was concerned with raising the status of the colleges and creating more order out of postsecondary education in Alberta; and like Dr. Mowat he had been a school principal and superintendent (Mowat 1981).

Staff

When Dr. Kolesar became Chairman, two others joined the Board's staff. Both were former teachers and superintendents in Alberta, and both were graduates at masters or doctoral level of the University of Alberta's Department of Educational Administration. These were Dr. Milton Fenske and Dr. Ray Fast. Mr. Joe Batty was recruited in the Board's last months to assist with financial matters. In sum, the Board had a well-qualified, homogeneous, experienced staff of educational professionals who seem to have worked well together both on the Board and on its successor, the Colleges Commission (Fast 1981, and papers relating to the first meeting of the Colleges Commission, September 3, 1969).

Scope of the Board's Work

The Board was responsible only for the public junior colleges established at Lethbridge, Red Deer, Medicine Hat, and Grande Prairie;

in addition, Mount Royal had become a public college in 1966. Only Lethbridge and Mount Royal offered non-university programs, so that as a whole the colleges were very dependent on the universities. The colleges were also very greatly dependent on school boards, which could withdraw at will from support of any college. The colleges, then, were struggling new institutions leading a precarious existence and depending on multiple organizations for survival (Fenske 1981).

The Board was an advisory, not an executive or regulatory body. By an Act amending the Public Junior Colleges Act, the Board was established to "review and coordinate the work of the junior colleges" and to "study provincial needs in the post-secondary field and make recommendations to the minister." Regulations regarding university transfer programs and their admissions requirements, the hiring of instructors for university courses in the colleges, and the affiliation of colleges were to be "prescribed by the Provincial Board in consultation and agreement with the Universities Coordinating Council." As Long emphasized, such provisions clearly signalled the Government's intention to pull together control of the colleges and decrease their dependence on universities and local authorities (Long 1979:62). For the time being this would be done by the Board; Dr. Mowat, Dr. Kolesar, and the Board argued for the creation of a commission structure independent of the Department, while Dr. Byrne preferred that coordination be done within the Department; this argument was resolved in time in the Board's favour (Byrne 1977:61).

Transfer Programs

A good deal of the Board's attention was taken up by the question of university transfer programs in the colleges. At its second meeting on January 10, 1968 the Chairman presented proposals regarding transfer programs which were supported by the Board. The most important of these were:

> That in respect of students who take their first year university programs in a college with which a university has an affiliation agreement the university be concerned with the end-product only, providing:
>
> (a) students meet the university's entrance requirements, and
> (b) students achieve a complete first-year program in the college.
>
> That graduates from first-year university programs in colleges be admitted to any university, providing:
>
> (a) the college has an affiliation agreement with a university,
> (b) the graduate possesses qualifications required for admission to the university he seeks to enter, and
> (c) the degree of advanced standing awarded is at the discretion of the receiving university. (Cited in Small 1972:128)

The Board no doubt felt that it was acting to exert coordination of the province's junior colleges, while the universities seem to have felt that it was usurping their role as guardians of standards. Although discussions were held between the Board and Dr. W. Neal, Chairman of the Coordinating Council, and meetings were held throughout 1968 and 1969, the matter was not resolved. While individual colleges and universities made agreements, the Board's continued attempts to establish a system of university-affiliated colleges failed. The fact that Alberta had three universities by 1967 did nothing to ameliorate this long-simmering problem (Small 1972:99).

Other Work Done by the Board

In addition to examining the transfer question, the Board recommended approval of programs in junior colleges (subject to the concurrence of the Deputy Minister and Minister) and commissioned studies relevant to the colleges. Assistance and guidance were given to the colleges regarding financial matters and program development, and the Board also discussed joint use by the College and the University of the site at Lethbridge (Summary of Board Minutes, Appendix 3). A Colleges Advisory Committee, which included presidents of the colleges, representatives of their faculties and administrations, and boards, was also set up to recommend new policy, review existing policy and facilitate communication within the emerging college system. It was popular with institutional heads and was a useful method of alerting the Board to their concerns, so that it was continued under the Colleges Commission (Mowat 1981).

Proposals for Change

In June 1968 the Board presented to Cabinet its revised recommendations. Essentially these were that institutes of technology, agricultural and vocational colleges, junior colleges, and other public institutions "be looked upon as one provincial system," that administration of the system be freed from that of the public schools, and that all the above-named institutions "be placed under the administrative control of boards of governors" and be coordinated by a provincial colleges commission (see Appendix 3). Cabinet was sympathetic to the idea of creating a provincial colleges commission, but resisted the idea of including the agricultural and vocational colleges and the institutes of technology in a college system. Small comments that although the former were "an anachronism," they were kept so by "vested interests," particularly the Board of Agricultural Education and farmers who pressured the Government. The institutes, on the other hand, were seen as distinct and successful institutions which would be best left alone (disturbances at the southern institute had been partly ascribed to proposals to change its governance arrangements) (Small 1972:138-139). Faculty in the institutes had also made a number of representations to the Government against the idea of their inclusion in a college system. The original idea of the Board, for a commission on the whole range of postsecondary education, was also unpalatable to the Government, probably because the latter felt that a colleges commission would give better attention to the colleges than would an all-embracing commission (Byrne cited in Small 1972:138).

Assessment

Many of the Board's most difficult problems were left to its successor. Dr. Mowat's aspirations for the Commission were for a strong coordinating body overseeing largely independent colleges and guiding their development into large and successful institutions (summary of quotation in Maddocks 1972:154). In one sense, the Provincial Board was part of a temporary system which produced another temporary system. The Board's attempts at coordination of postsecondary education in the fullest sense are plain enough; it had made slight headway against the universities' resistance to system-wide transfer arrangements, and had not managed to persuade government of the need for a more all-embracing system of coordination.

To this extent it had failed. But the Board represented a first step toward comprehensive administration of postsecondary education: the question of the inclusion in wider administration of the agricultural and vocational colleges had clearly became a matter of time by 1969.

Finally, the Board provided a nucleus of experienced, well-qualified staff for the Colleges Commission, and it was evident that their task would be to continue to raise the status and increase the size of the colleges while working towards the idea of province-wide coordination.

THE COLLEGES ACT AND THE COMMISSION

The Colleges Commission was established by the Colleges Act (An Act Respecting a Provincial College System) in May, 1969. Part I of the Act declared that the Commission would have a chairman appointed by the Lieutenant Governor in Council, as well as having the following on its board—the Deputy Ministers of Agriculture and Education, the Deputy Provincial Treasurer, and five others. As in the case of the Universities Commission, the chairman was responsible directly to the Minister for Education, and like the older agency, the Commission had the power to advise the Minister; Section 8 declared that the Commission could advise the government about the colleges' needs and suggest new members of the colleges system. The agency also had executive powers, as laid out in Section 8(c), which detailed its powers to

> regulate or prohibit
>
> (i) the extension, expansion or establishment of any service, facility or program of study by a member of the college

system so as to reduce or avoid an undesirable or unnecessary duplication of a similar service, facility or program of study already provided by another member of the college system, or

(ii) the establishment of a new school, faculty, or department by any member of the college system.

A critical omission was a provision for ending programs already in existence, but clearly the Commission was more concerned with expanding a college system than with reducing it. In a paper on Commission staff and functions, evidently prepared by Dr. Kolesar and others for its first meeting, it was observed that a new system was being established, the boundaries of which were as yet undefined and that expansion by colleges might easily be seen by other systems as encroachment on areas which lay in the other systems' domains. The primary functions of the Commission, according to the same paper, were:

a. to provide leadership and service to the college system;
b. to coordinate the activities of the members of the system;
c. to act as the intermediary between the system and the government, and between the system and other systems.

Finally, the paper noted that the Commission's duties included the examination of proposals for programs, assisting with campus development, assessing colleges' financial needs and disseminating research on colleges (Kolesar 1969).

STRUCTURE OF THE COMMISSION

The Commission had an unpaid board, on which educational and lay interests were represented; a number of board members, including of course Dr. Kolesar, had been on the Provincial Board. The Commission's minutes did not detail its discussions and it is unclear how far board members contributed to decisions. However, it is noteworthy that Dr. Byrne played a far less critical role—in both senses of the adjective—on the Colleges Commission than he did on the Universities Commission, apparently because he felt the Colleges Commission was being soundly managed by a reliable chairman and staff (Byrne 1977:63).

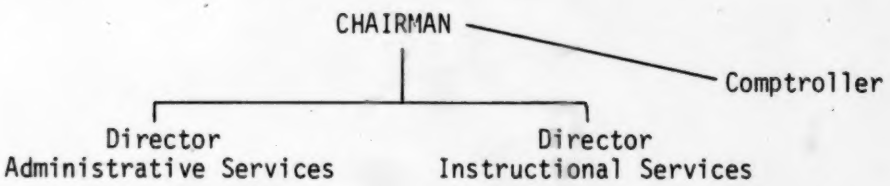
The staff of the Commission grew considerably over the time of its operation. The original members of staff moved to the Commission from the Provincial Board (although in so doing they ceased to be officers of the Department of Education) and each assumed a key responsibility. Dr. Fenske became Director of Administrative Services and was concerned with the establishment of new colleges, college planning of all types, administrative responsibilities to the college system, and the gathering and assessment of data. Dr. Fast became Director of Instructional Services and was given responsibility for developing and improving curriculum and instruction in colleges, as well as student services. Mr. Joe Batty also joined the Commission from the Postsecondary Board, becoming the Commission's Comptroller (briefing paper for the first meeting of the Commission, September 3, 1969).

These were joined by others as the Commission's role expanded. Mr. Reno Bosetti joined early in 1970, initially being seconded from his position as high school inspector. He was to play a key role in the Commission's work, particularly in developing a master plan.

Mr. Neil Clarke joined as an intern for the year 1970-71, and Mr. Desmond Berghofer joined as an executive assistant in October, 1972. By the end of 1972 the staff had grown greatly in size and expertise.

The Commission's staff was stable, as the agency attracted men of proven ability and retained them. Like the Provincial Board, the Commission attracted a large number of educational professionals (these a bystander referred to disparagingly as "ed. admin. types"). This was not surprising given Dr. Kolesar's role as Chairman, Dr. Mowat's position as Chairman of the Department of Educational Administration at the University of Alberta, and the sound working relationship between the two. The enterprise and energy of the staff is clear in records and recollections, and it was certainly perceived as energetic by the Government (Fast 1981; Clark 1981).

As the staff grew, so the Commission's structure changed. The 1969 structure was as follows:



By 1971 this had evolved into a more complex structure, as a chart drawn up for the Commission suggests (see Figure I).

A number of committees were used to give advice to the Commission. As noted above, one such committee was the Colleges Advisory Committee, which discussed college budgets, student numbers and their certification, fees and salaries. Similar committees met

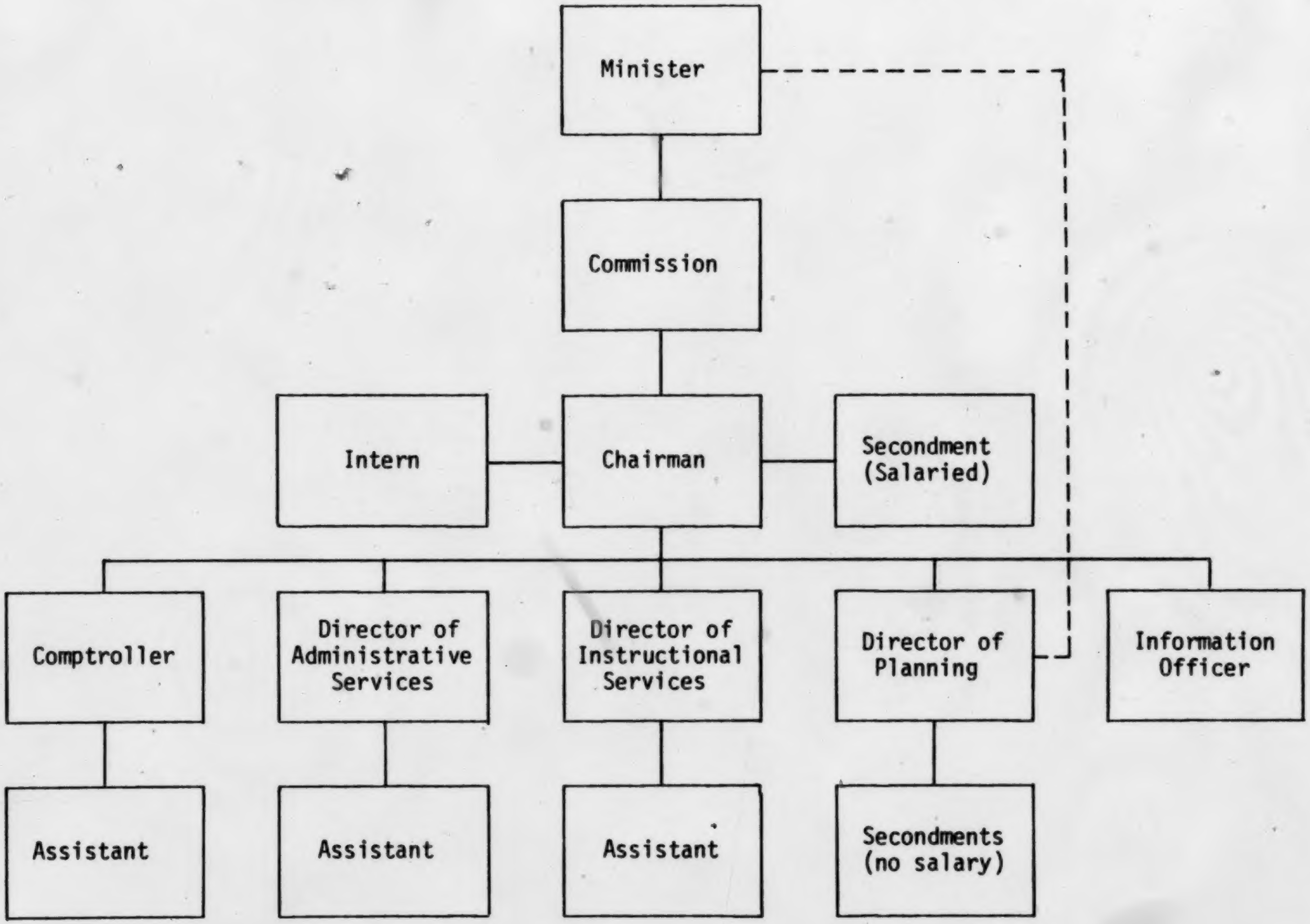


Figure I. Alberta Colleges Commission Structure, 1971

to discuss program development, campus development, and finances and enabled members of the Commission to maintain contact with key members of the college system.

Meeting Place

Regular meetings of the Commission were held in downtown Edmonton, first in the Administration Building and then in the Devonian Building on Jasper Avenue. Both sites were close to the Legislature and to the most relevant civil servants; the more far-flung colleges might have had some difficulty communicating with members of the Commission, but there is no record in the files studied that these colleges complained that the Commission was inaccessible.

THE COMMISSION AT WORK

The Commission's total work over the period of its existence was vast. Much of its activity related to college finances, such as the estimation of colleges' capital and working expenses and setting guidelines and policies for their payment. The task of one key member of staff, the Director of Instructional Services, was to examine proposals and ensure that colleges had done the necessary research on programs before coming to the Commission for their approval. It is not possible to study the Commission's workload in any detail, although some tasks will be highlighted in the pages following.

Developing a Master Plan

Almost any coordinating agency must address itself to the task of drawing up a master plan of some kind for the institutions in its charge (Glenny 1959:59). In the papers prepared for the November, 1970 meeting of the Commission, there appeared a briefing paper from a committee which had been given responsibility for developing a master plan. The committee had not long been at work before the new Minister for Education, Mr. Robert Clark, requested that its scope be expanded. The minutes of a meeting between Mr. Clark and Commission staff read:

> [The Minister said that] he wanted one all-encompassing master educational plan for the entire non-university postsecondary system, and that it should be flexible enough to incorporate all institutions, programs and services under one jurisdiction just in case the time would come when this would be deemed desirable. (Report of meeting, in Minutes of the Commission, February 11, 1971)

These comments clearly indicate that the wind was shifting in a direction favourable to those who had long called for closer coordination in postsecondary education in Alberta, and the Commission gladly complied with Mr. Clark's request. The committee's chairman, Mr. Bosetti, merely noted that it would take time to write such a broadly-embracing document. Mr. Bosetti became Director of Planning and devoted his energies to the plan, assisted by Dr. Fast, Mr. Jack Mitchell (Director of Vocational Education in the Department of Education) and others representing Continuing Education, Nursing Education and the Attorney-General's Department. As the plan developed, a number of discussion papers emerged, models of governance were discussed, and a model for the future coordination of postsecondary education was suggested (see Figure II).

The master plan's development demonstrated that, however new the Commission might be, it was energetic and adaptable enough. The plan encouraged moves to survey, and ultimately to coordinate, the

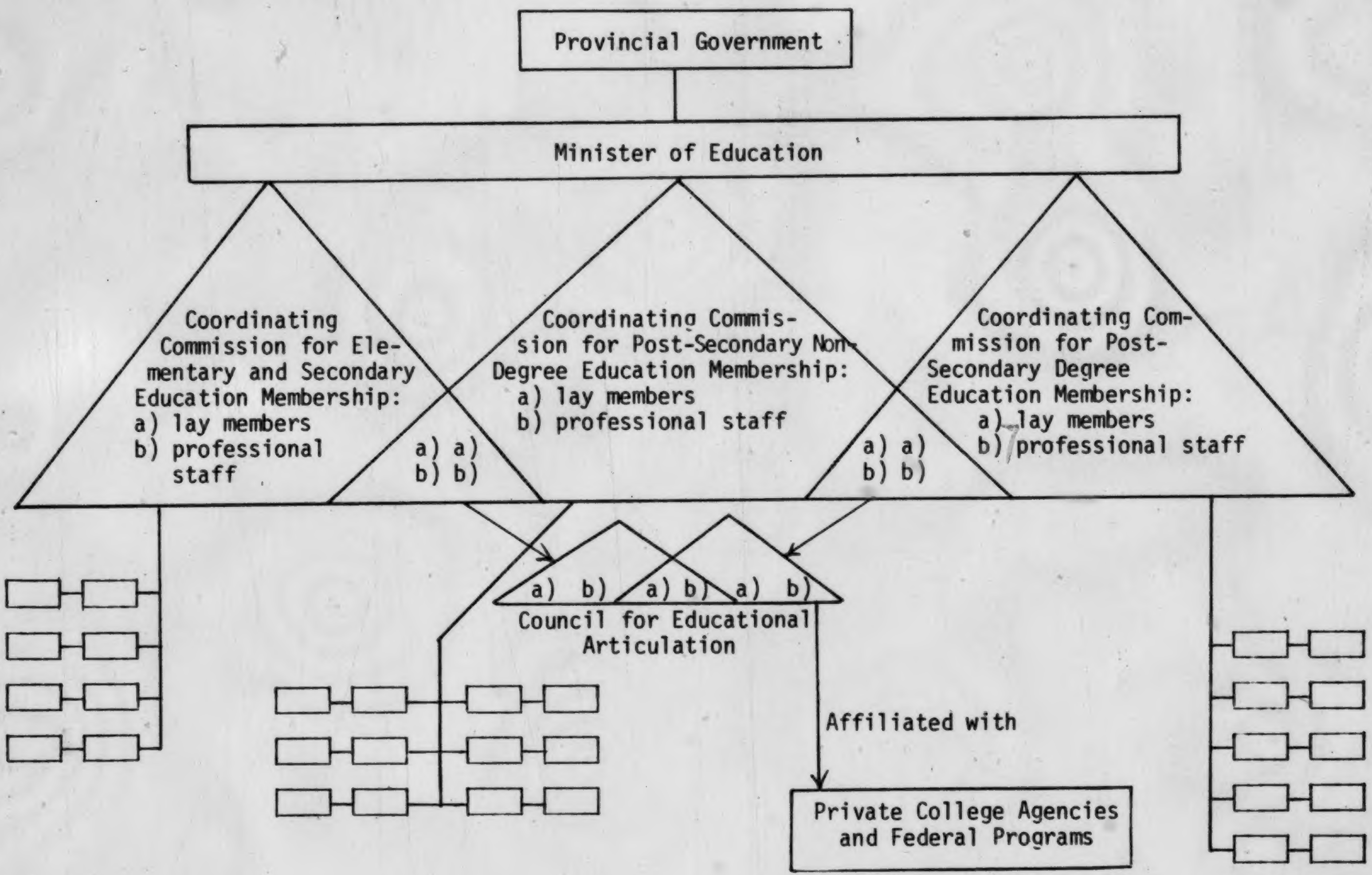

Provincial Government
Minister of Education
Coordinating Commission for Elementary and Secondary Education Membership:
a) lay members
b) professional staff
a) a)
b) b)
Coordinating Commission for Post-Secondary Non-Degree Education Membership:
a) lay members
b) professional staff
a) a)
b) b)
Coordinating Commission for Post-Secondary Degree Education Membership:
a) lay members
b) professional staff
a) b) a) b) a) b)
Council for Educational Articulation
Affiliated with
Private College Agencies and Federal Programs

Figure II. Recommended Organizational Model for Education in Alberta (As first proposed in Master Plan Number One, 1971)

entire postsecondary scene: by July, 1971 Mr. Clark was considering the idea of establishing a postsecondary commission to cover the universities, colleges and all other postsecondary institutions, with Dr. Kolesar chairman (Clark 1981).

College Finances

The Commission provided funds for colleges under two main groupings. Operating costs were met under the provisions of the Colleges Act (Berghofer and Vladicka 1981:36). A total operating budget was based on college enrolments multiplied by a sum per student. Colleges' operating needs were assessed after college budget requirements were determined; guidelines for budgets were issued by the Commission's Comptroller (Maddocks 1972:157-159).

Capital developments were financed by government after discussion with the Commission. An assessment of need was made annually by the Director of Administrative Services, who prepared guidelines for the planning needs of the colleges in regard to site selection, buildings, and residence development. Colleges had considerable freedom to work within these guidelines (Maddocks 1972:160-162). An outline of campus development projects appears in Figure III; this demonstrates the continuity in such matters between the Provincial Board of Postsecondary Education and the Commission.

The Commission and Its Environment

The working environment of the Commission certainly encouraged its aggressive and forthright method of operation. The public colleges were small in size and number in 1969 and clearly were very dependent

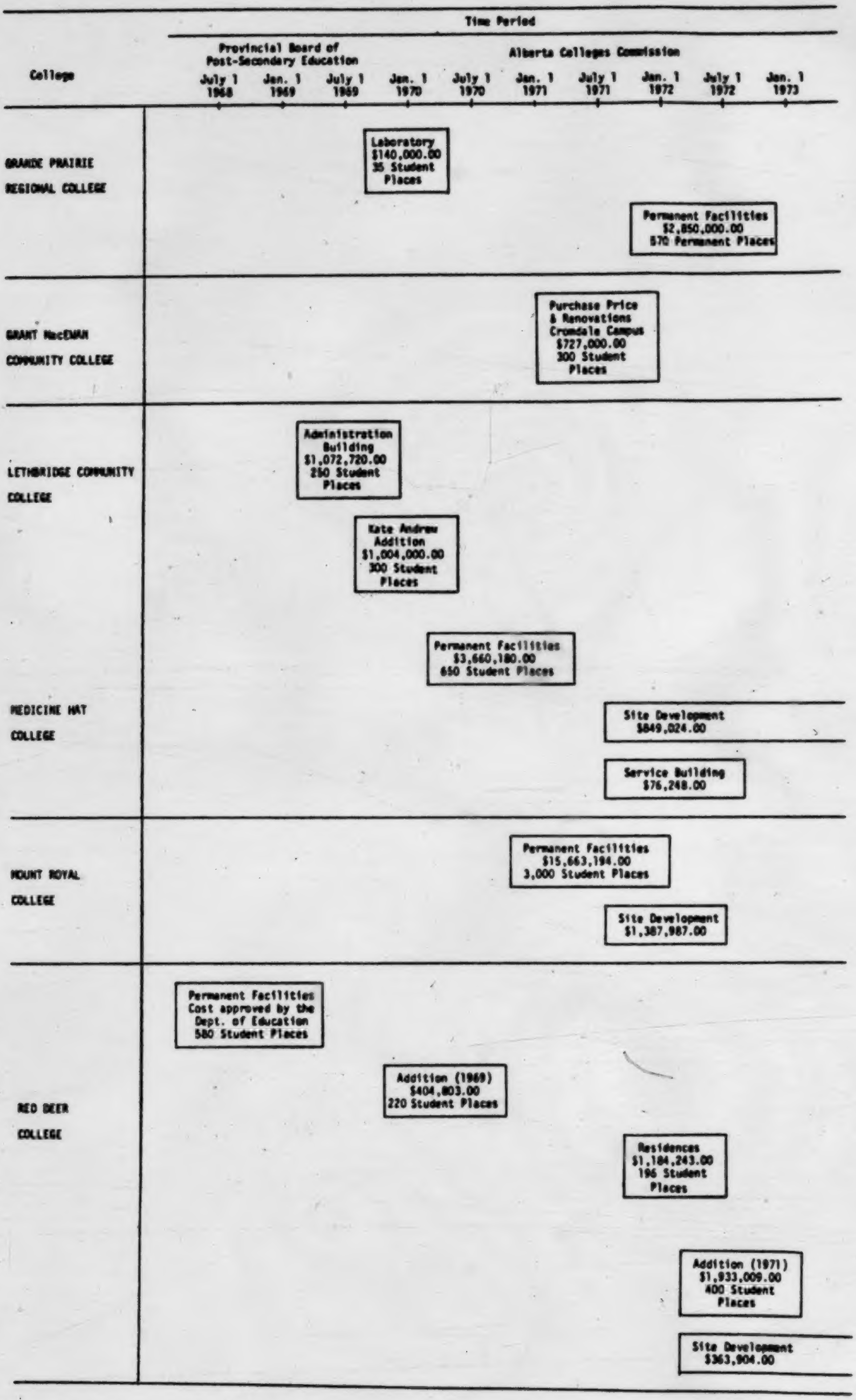


Figure III. Alberta Colleges Commission: Campus Development Projects (From a paper prepared for the Commission in January, 1972 [sic])

on the Commission for finance as well as for advice, assistance and support. A comment from an observer in the Universities Commission was that Dr. Kolesar created the colleges and hence they had a good deal of respect for him: this is not true, as most of the colleges predated Dr. Kolesar's days on the Postsecondary Board. But although individual institutions resented some of the Commission's actions, and said so, a large degree of trust and respect seems to have been the general rule in the system. This is clear from a conference held between college representatives and Cabinet members in August, 1970: no generally-held grievances were raised, and the Commission's conciliatory responses must have helped soothe existing grievances.

A review of the Commission's objectives and activities made in September, 1971 by its staff discussed the following: proposals to increase the Commission's power by giving it authority to withdraw programs offered in a college, the question of direct representation of colleges on the Commission, provision of better information to college boards, liaison with the Minister and with other agencies, and the visibility of the Commission. These matters point to the adaptability of the agency to a rapidly changing environment.

THE COMMISSION AS COORDINATOR

In this section particular attention is directed to some specific problems of coordination among institutions of postsecondary education.

The Transfer Issue

No problem presenting itself to the Commission was more difficult to solve than was the question of university transfer programs in the public colleges. It has been pointed out that the Provincial Board, through no fault of its own, had failed to resolve the issue; the Commission, similarly, made little headway with it. Probably what seemed to be a single issue was in reality a bundle of issues, one of which was the power of the Commission against that of the universities and their coordinating agencies. Although Mr. Clark told the Commission's September, 1969 meeting that it "must deal at an early date" with the question of university transfers, the questions were not capable of easy resolution. In part this was because the problems lay in the area of unclear authority between the Colleges Commission, the Universities Commission, and the Coordinating Council.

Towards 1972 the Commission's attempt to establish a system of university transfer programs had reached stalemate. Two colleges were having great difficulty in obtaining recognition of their second-year transfer programs, and colleges were refusing to sign agreements of affiliation with the University of Alberta. While the Government grew more and more impatient with the fact that students could gain credit for courses in the United States more easily than they could at Alberta's universities, the situation seemed insoluble. In this task, then, the Commission was unsuccessful, although it seems not to have been blamed for any failure by the Government (Small 1972:165f; Clark 1971).

Program Review

The Commission's powers included the oversight and approval of new programs for the colleges, and it is useful to examine its record of program approval. Generally speaking, programs were passed, sometimes after colleges had been asked to provide better documentation on the need for them, and on occasions program approval was delayed until changes were made. The record to June, 1970 was presented to a Commission meeting at that time and appears in Figure IV. Lethbridge College's request for a Social Service program was delayed pending investigation into the need for it, and the same college's request for university transfer programs was rejected as there was a university on the same site at the time (Meeting, March, 1970).

Rationalization of Courses

The Commission performed a number of functions which could be grouped under this heading. Attempts were made to spell out a role for the public colleges in general, to define them and to draw distinctions between them and other institutions: this was done in a paper presented to the October, 1970 meeting of the Commission. At the same meeting the Commission discussed ways and means of inducing colleges to pay more attention to community service; some were far more interested in university transfer programs, raising difficult questions about how far the Commission ought to dictate a role to colleges. Dr. Kolesar stressed in the paper mentioned above that colleges must be allowed freedom by the Commission as far as was practical within the constraints of the college system (Kolesar 1970).

PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT REPORT*

The report which follows is a summary of the programs submitted by colleges for approval and introduction in September 1970. For comparative purposes, the 1969 summary is also included.

PROGRAMS FOR 1970

College	Program	Status
Grande Prairie	Second Year Business Administration and Secretarial Science	Approved
Medicine Hat	Second Year University Transfer	Approved
Medicine Hat	Nursing	Approved
Red Deer	Arts and Science Diploma	Approved
Red Deer	Second Year University Transfer	Approved
Lethbridge	Irrigation Technology	Approved
Lethbridge	Hotel-Motel Management	Approved
Lethbridge	Hospitality Management	Approved
Lethbridge	Social Services	Deferred
Lethbridge	University Transfer	Rejected
Mount Royal	Real Estate Appraisal and Property Management	Approved
Mount Royal	Child Care	Approved
Mount Royal	Police Science	Approved
Mount Royal	Aviation	Approved

SUMMARY

1969

13 submissions
10 approved
1 withdrawn
2 deferred

1970

A. NEW PROGRAMS	B. EXTENSIONS	C. COMBINED 1970 PROPOSALS
11 submissions	3 submissions	14 submissions
9 approved	3 approved	12 approved
1 deferred		1 deferred
1 rejected		1 rejected

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*This summary deals with specific programs only and does not include the development of new policies, approval of master educational plans, and other related activities.

Figure IV. Alberta Colleges Commission: Program Development Report (From Papers relating to the June, 1970 meeting of the Commission)

A number of specific cases will illustrate the Commission's work in rationalizing programs and clarifying institutional roles. First, the question of programs in "police science" required a province-wide assessment of needs and a committee was set up under Dr. Fast to do this. Second, attempts were made to rationalize offerings in Calgary, and an attempt was made as detailed later in this chapter to amalgamate institutions in that city so that programs might be supplied to the public more efficiently. Third, attempts were made to define appropriate roles between Grande Prairie Regional College and Fairview Agricultural and Vocational College; this failed largely because the Commission's authority did not extend far enough to effect the desired change. Fourth, the proposal by Grant MacEwan College to offer courses similar to those offered at the Northern Alberta Institute of Technology prompted the Commission to make a review of both institutions. Program philosophies were laid down for each of them, some programs were transferred from NAIT to the new institution and the latter was not permitted to offer engineering technology programs (Meeting of Commission, April, 1971).

In sum, the Commission was acting with speed and authority to define roles and avoid some undesirable overlap in programs, as required by Section 8(c) of the Colleges Act. The case of NAIT was strictly outside the Commission's scope, so that its success in rationalizing course offerings in the last case discussed is all the more commendable. Colleges within the system were encouraged to develop their own plans for their development; these were then discussed by the Commission in the context of a master plan for the non-university system. No amalgamations were concluded by the Commission, but its work in rationalizing postsecondary education was courageous and, in balance, largely successful. Some case studies in college-level coordination appear hereunder to illustrate further the Commission's work.

CASE STUDY: MOUNT ROYAL COLLEGE

As explained earlier, Mount Royal College was a private college founded by the Methodist Church. In the mid-1960s there were discussions about converting it to public status, and a report was commissioned by Cresap, McCormick and Paget, management consultants. The report approved the idea of conversion to public status and suggested the following programs for the College: combined matriculation and university, university matriculation, two-year liberal arts, career courses, adult high school, fine arts, adult education, religion and philosophy. Part of the report suggested the possibility of a merger between the College and the Southern Alberta Institute of Technology, but this merger did not proceed (Cresap, McCormick and Paget 1966:VI-3).

Mount Royal became a public college in September, 1966—that is, it came under the authority of the Colleges Act—although it retained some of its religious character. Dr. Pentz was appointed president in 1968 and began a reorganization of the College.

The question of a permanent site for the College proved a troublesome one. The new board wished to pursue some of the site recommendations of an early report on the College written by Dr. R. N. Anderson and others. Two sites for the new location were considered: a downtown Calgary location, and one at Lincoln Park in a greenbelt area. The board preferred the latter site; in the words of the college planner, it was "concerned whether tri-party agreements [between the city, the province and the college], parking, ultimate size of parcel, transportation and access, and other provisions would be kept" in regard to the downtown site. However, Mayor Sykes continued to insist on the inner-city location, apparently because the city wished to use the College's relocation to spark urban renewal (N. J. Gamble, cited in Ingram et al. 1975:182,187). A report into the site question commissioned by the mayor resulted in much acrimony and three reports. The majority report recommended that the college move to the downtown site; a minority report suggested the Lincoln Park site; and a one-man report submitted by J. Yanchula spent much time denying accusations that the committee of enquiry had been "stacked" by the city. Yanchula complained that Mount Royal had not ceased to be "a snooty school for rich kids who can't quite make it through the regular system." He suggested that the move to Lincoln Park merely proved that Mount Royal aspired to the "country club atmosphere" of a university campus, and recommended a Mewata Park site instead (agenda papers for the May, 1970 meeting of the Commission). The Commission reiterated its support for the Lincoln Park site at a meeting in mid-1970 and this decision was supported by Mr. Clark in June, in the course of a statement about Mount Royal's future and its planned amalgamation with the Alberta Vocational Centre in Calgary.

This case demonstrates that in its dealings with colleges the Commission was sometimes at the mercy of forces such as city administrations which were outside its control. Despite the acrimonious arguments, Mount Royal had changed to public status and moved to its new campus by 1974; it was a large and successful college, perhaps the most illustrious of the public colleges in the Commission's time.

CASE STUDY: THE RED DEER CRISIS

There are some difficulties in presenting the story of Red Deer College as a case study in the Commission's relations with colleges. In the first place, the story is complex, many-sided and still controversial; much of the story has not been published, probably for legal reasons—most of the key participants are still alive. Moreover, the story begins about 1970 and continues until 1973, so that aspects of it relate to the transition era discussed in a later chapter. Despite these difficulties it has been decided to present the story here as one relating to the Colleges Commission and in all possible detail.

Origins of the College

Red Deer College was founded in 1964 in a medium-sized city. Like other junior colleges it came under the jurisdiction of a superintendent in its early years and was housed in a composite high school. By 1971 it was offering university transfer programs, an arts and science diploma, secretarial science, a social service course, nursing education, business administration and academic upgrading. Commission records detail the agency's concern with low productivity of College staff, with lengthy contract negotiations between the administration and the faculty, and with aspects of the College budget. These problems escalated in 1972, when a sudden drop in enrolments created severe financial difficulties in the College (Meeting, Colleges Commission, March 9, 1972; letter from Mr. Batty to the college, March 16, 1972).

Developing Problems

Essentially the College was suffering from five related problems. First, from its inception the College's personnel seem to have dreamed of university status; after Lethbridge College spawned a university in the mid-1960s, hope persisted that Red Deer would enjoy a similar transformation. There had been some encouragement in this from the Government, which was considering both Red Deer and St. Albert as possible sites for a university in the late 1960s (Meeting, Universities Commission, December, 1969). Understandably, then, (and this was a second problem) the College had an uncommon emphasis on academic as against community programs. The Colleges Commission noted this with a good deal of concern in 1970 and advised the College to broaden its philosophic base (Fast 1981 and agenda papers for October, 1970 meeting of the Commission). However, the Commission seems not to have directed the College to change its emphasis and it seems doubtful whether it had the power to do so. Third, the College had a number of difficulties with its university transfer programs, especially in regard to the accreditation of College staff engaged in transfer programs. Fourth, budgetary problems plagued the College in the period 1970-72 to the extent that the

Commission asked one of its interns to write a report on faculty loads and course costs in the College. The board's solutions were first, to cut courses, second, to delay the settlement of faculty contracts, probably because it felt faculty demands were extreme; this only heightened unrest in an already turbulent faculty association (Byrne 1972:36). Finally, and as a consequence of the above, there were severe difficulties in personal relationships on the staff. By early 1972 working relationships had broken down, abuse was common and personality clashes were the order of the day.

The Crisis Deepens

January and February of 1972 saw the College's survival threatened by an intense polarization. At one extreme were the president, vice-president, and the board (excluding faculty and student representatives); at the other, faculty, students and others, led by the faculty association. Classes were being frequently disrupted by faculty walkouts and were frequently cancelled; the board claimed later to have been unaware that any unusual behaviour was occurring. Matters came to a head in February: on the fourth of that month the faculty association conducted a poll among the faculty, and eighty-five percent of the faculty voted non-confidence in the ability of the College's administrators "to effectively execute the[ir] administrative functions." A similar motion was passed by the students, seventy-five percent voting non-confidence in the administrators. The faculty association thereupon asked Dr. Kolesar and Mr. Foster, Minister for Education in the new Conservative government, to take immediate action. This request was echoed by the board; each party no doubt expected vindication. The problem was thus laid squarely in the Commission's lap (Fast 1981; 1974:2f).

The Commission had been well aware of the difficulties at Red Deer for some time. A letter sent in January, 1972 to Dr. Kolesar observed that "disgust and hatred" were prevalent at the College, and no doubt similar communications kept him informed of events; but he replied expressing concern, though hoping that the College could resolve its own difficulties (letter to acting chairman of the College board, February 14, 1972). At the same time Mr. Foster was becoming increasingly impatient with the problem which, being in his own constituency, was all the more difficult to ignore. He had at one stage considered shutting the College down for a year (Foster 1982). At the Minister's request, Dr. Fenske reviewed available options in February and suggested an inquiry under the provisions of the Public Inquiries Act. Dr. Fenske recommended a thorough, broad-scale inquiry "to ferret out both the apparent and submerged problems" (letter to Mr. Foster, February 25, 1972). The Minister seems to have taken this advice, for an Order in Council was passed on March 21 naming Dr. Byrne of Athabasca University to a wide-ranging one-man commission of inquiry into the Red Deer troubles.

The Inquiry

Dr. Byrne began work on the inquiry at once and held open hearings in Red Deer over nine days from April 3 to 12. The inquiry was reported in detail in the Red Deer Advocate and other media and a host of intriguing details emerged. Senior administrators had told students that if they did not like the College they could get out, and one administrator, seeing a faculty member speak out at an open forum, had remarked audibly "We've got to get rid of that man" (Advocate, April 5-8, 1972). Throughout the inquiry Dr. Byrne retained a cool detachment from proceedings, though he could not conceal his incredulity that the board had had no inkling that anything was amiss in the College until the votes of non-confidence had been passed.

Dr. Byrne presented his report to the Executive Council on May 11. His main recommendations were that the board should be dissolved and the positions of president and vice-president declared vacant, that the top-heavy administration should be flattened out, and the College's organization be given a thorough review. An administrator should be appointed to act as president and board; this would require special legislation (Byrne 1972:62f).

The Byrne Report, while providing a solution in the long term for the Red Deer troubles, also presented the Government and the Commission with a host of problems. Legislation covering colleges and universities lay on the table at the Legislature: was it possible, and desirable, to amend it? If so, should the bill provide for the appointment of an administrator to colleges and universities? An unsigned paper found in the Commission's files and dated May 16, 1972 records some Commission reactions to the Byrne Report, essentially showing surprise that it had been easier on the faculty association than on the president, and expressing concern that the public would see senior administrators and board members "sacrificed to satisfy dissident staff members." Furthermore, the paper demonstrated fear in the Commission that the report might provoke alarm in other institutions.

Despite these concerns, legislation providing for an administrator's appointment to any college was hastily drawn up and inserted in the Department of Advanced Education Act. The matter of the appointment of the administrator was difficult and required very careful handling by the Government and the Commission. Mr. Foster drove to Red Deer with Drs. Kolesar and Fast of the Commission to speak to members of the College and make a last-minute attempt to resolve the dispute. The day's events were subsequently recalled by Dr. Fast:

> He and Henry and I drove down to Red Deer, met the president, the vice president, the group from the faculty association, the student representatives. On the way home Foster said "No way can this be resolved." We dropped Henry off and went on to my place, still talking about the dispute. In my driveway, at midnight, Foster said "Ray, you'll be the first administrator appointed to a postsecondary institution." I said, "No, I won't." He said, "Yes, you will." "Are you telling me that this is my bread and butter?" I asked. He said yes: the premier had approved it. I gave him my answer in the morning. (Fast 1981)

The Administrator

Dr. Fast's appointment was made by an Order in Council passed on June 6. At about the same time, he received a telephone call from the president of Red Deer College, asking him if he wanted an office provided for him. Dr. Fast replied tersely: "You don't understand: I'm moving into your office. I'll see you in the morning." The administrator arrived on Monday, June 12. By July 10 the president and vice president had resigned and, as Dr. Byrne had envisaged, Dr. Fast took over the functions of both president and board. He was the first administrator in Canada to do so. In all, forty-two members of the College staff left during the 1972-73 year (Fast 1981; 1974:15). Aided by Neil Clarke, hastily recalled from his studies in educational administration, the administrator acted as the College's chief executive, dealing as such with the Commission, which he had very recently left.

Dr. Fast then began the long task of reconstruction. Earlier, the president had provoked conflict by suggesting that programs be deleted because of fiscal constraints: under the new circumstances, the reduced faculty was forced to accept program reductions. A community orientation was devised for the College by the Administrator in consultation with College staff, and a three-year contract negotiated. Secretive budgetary practices were replaced by the decentralization of authority over budgets. The task was all but complete by the time the Administrator, after full consultation with the College and the community, appointed a new president on July 1, 1973 (Fast 1974:19-21).

The experience proved a painful one for the Administrator. Offensive telephone calls and personal threats forced him to obtain an unlisted telephone number. On several occasions special security was provided for him and his family (Fast 1981). These facts demonstrate that the remedy applied to the Red Deer problem by the Commission—a public inquiry and the appointment of an administrator, with wholesale termination of staff—were scarcely too severe; if anything, they were insufficient to solve an immensely tangled mass of personal, financial and institutional problems.

The Significance of the Red Deer Affair

The Red Deer crisis was in no way typical of the Commission's dealings with colleges. It has been described here in detail to demonstrate that, by 1972, the Commission was able to untangle the most complex problem, however fraught with difficulties. Ultimately the Red Deer affair turned from a potential hazard to the Commission to a demonstration of its skill and expertise. The significance of the affair for the transition period will have to be left to a later chapter.

TECHNICAL AND VOCATIONAL EDUCATION 1967-71

This section aims in part to provide a survey of developments in Alberta's technical and vocational educational institutions in the era of the Colleges Commission. However, its main purpose is to explain why these institutions were not drawn into the orbit of the Commission.

The Institutes of Technology

An earlier section in this chapter provided a description of developments in technical education which led to two large institutes of technology in Edmonton and Calgary. These changes, and proposals for program reassignment between the southern institute and Mount Royal College, added to a sense of insecurity at the Institute in the 1960s. Angry demonstrations were held and students protested that the semi-academic courses would be transferred to Mount Royal College, turning the Institute into a "grease monkey college" (Colleges Commission meeting and papers, September 3, 1969). These proposals, and plans to redesign the Institute's teaching year, led to unrest in the institution and the resignation of its chief executive. A committee of inquiry chaired by Dr. T. C. Byrne recommended that the Institute retain its vocational emphasis but that it should become more comprehensive in the programs it offered. The committee of inquiry was unable to agree on whether the Institute should be placed under a board of governors or remain under the direct administration of the Department of Education: while SAIT student representatives on the committee recommended the former course to counterbalance "tendencies towards authoritarian administration," others on the committee insisted that the Institute remain under Departmental operation (Byrne et al. 1969:20). However, the committee recommended that within the next three years consideration be given to "placing the Institute under a board of governors as provided for under the Colleges Act" (Byrne et al. 1969:28,39).

Such a proposal was often made, but if there was ever any doubt about the matter, the events at the Institute forestalled change in the status of the institutes. In addition, resistance to change was still high among the faculty: these evidently felt that they would lose their identities if submerged in the "other system." Dr. Byrne's explanation for faculty resistance to change was that "they felt they were in a favoured position and they didn't want to take their chances along with the colleges" (cited in Long 1972:131).
As far as the administration of the institutes was concerned, a letter to Dr. Kolesar from Mr. Jack Mitchell, Director of Vocational and Technical Education in the Department of Education, on February 24,

1970 was unequivocal. Mr. Mitchell stated flatly that he wanted any moves toward closer coordination to go only as far as "an informal laissez faire type of arrangement for the next two years" (Papers prepared for the March, 1970 meeting of the Commission). Thus moves to bring the colleges and the institutes closer together were stalled.

The Alberta Vocational Centres

The case of the Alberta Vocational Centres is rather more intriguing than that of the institutes of technology, for plans were being made to absorb them in the public college system as early as May, 1970. The chronology presented here is based on a paper on the proposed amalgamation of the centres in Edmonton and Calgary with the public colleges in those cities and found in Commission papers. It deals only with the planned merger in Calgary:

1. Mr. Robert Clark, Minister for Education, instructed the Commission, officers of the Department of Edudcation and the Mount Royal Board of Governors to enter discussions preparatory to amalgamation of the vocational centre in Calgary with Mount Royal College.

2. At an initial meeting in August, 1970 chaired by Dr. Fenske of the Commission, the Mount Royal Board agreed to the merger and requested full integration of the institutions.

3. A second meeting chaired by Dr. Fenske included Messrs. Bosetti and Batty of the Commission, Dr. Pentz, President of Mount Royal College, Mr. Jack Mitchell, Director of Technical and Vocational Education, and Mr. B. Virtue, Coordinator of Vocational Education. A record of the meeting reads: "Discussion revealed that at this point in time there appeared to be no major problems which would prevent the

incorporation of the Alberta Vocational Centre, Calgary, into Mount Royal College."

4. Further meetings were held, and the faculty of AVC Calgary received the proposed amalgamation favourably, although there were questions asked about working conditions and programs in the amalgamated institution.

5. An administrative structure for the new institution was approved by subcommittees of the organizations planning the merger.

6. A meeting of concerned organizations, apparently chaired by Dr. Fenske, requested that the Government make up its mind on the merger.

7. A meeting of September 14, 1971 announced that AVC staff at Calgary had become members of Mount Royal College's staff as at July 1.

Notwithstanding this declaration, and all the amalgamation meetings held as late as May, 1972, the planned event never occurred. The new government held itself not committed to any proposals of its predecessor, and Mr. Foster chose not to proceed with the merger; the vocational centres continued under separate administration (see p. 171).

Despite all the Commission's plans, technical and vocational education remained separate from the college system; ironically, the two groups of institutions were administered almost from adjacent floors in the Devonian Building in downtown Edmonton. The dichotomy, said Long, "removed the necessity, and hampered the desire" of the colleges to offer technical and vocational courses, as colleges distant from the largest cities might have done, and might have strengthened the tendency in some colleges towards emulating the universities (Long 1972:160).

THE AGRICULTURAL AND VOCATIONAL COLLEGES

During the Commission's lifetime there was a good deal of discussion about its relationship to the agricultural and vocational colleges. Proposals for integrating these into the college system were made by the Commission itself and by others, and a meeting was held to begin resolution of the issue in May, 1970. At that meeting, and subsequently, some college faculty expressed interest in joining the college system or, at minimum, in integrating their programs with the public colleges. At the Commission meeting of June 10, 1971 the following motion was moved and passed:

> That the Alberta Colleges Commission recommend to Cabinet that the Vermilion, Olds and Fairview Agricultural Colleges be incorporated as public colleges under the Colleges Act, thereby becoming members of the Public Colleges System.

But this request was denied by Cabinet. A study into one aspect of the broader issue, begun by the Provincial Board and completed by the Commission, recommended the amalgamation of Fairview College with Grande Prairie Regional College; this, too, was rejected by Cabinet. Finally, a plan for an Eastern Alberta Community College which would subsume Vermilion Agricultural and Vocational College was shelved after opposition was raised by the city of Wainwright and other groups (Commission minutes and papers for September, 1971; Birdsall 1975:17f).

Thus no progress was made towards integrating the agricultural and vocational colleges into the college system. Why was this so? One writer surmised that the causes of resistance to change were, first, the Government's caution in wanting to see what the Colleges Commission would do with the colleges under its care; and second, its fear that integration proposals would create turmoil among faculty in the agricultural colleges (Campbell 1972:183). Moreover, the Department of Agriculture remained only cautiously interested in amalgamation, and concerned that the colleges in its charge retain their identities (meeting of J. Hawker, Director, Agricultural and Vocational Colleges, with Dr. Kolesar in May, 1970; records in Department of Advanced Education and Manpower vault). Members of the Board of Agricultural Education, the colleges' alumni associations and farmers' spokesmen were much more vocal in opposing changes in college administration (Birdsall 1975:15). Hence the anomalies in pay scales and regulations between the two sectors continued, and coordination between programs in the two sets of institutions remained at a token level.

AN ASSESSMENT OF THE COMMISSION

An assessment of the Commission was made in the course of a meeting between members of the college system and provincial Cabinet in August, 1970. Dissatisfaction was expressed with some aspects of the Commission's work, particularly with the transfer issue, with an alleged lack of leadership given by the Commission, and its failure to include student, faculty and administrative representatives of colleges on its board, but the latter points were raised only by one college and were not widely supported. It seems more significant that all college system presidents supported the Commission form of government when it was under challenge (Commission agenda papers, September, 1970; letter to Dr. Kolesar from Dr. Anderson, President of Grande Prairie Regional College, March 29, 1973).

Certainly the Commission had had its failures, most noticeably in its attempts to integrate the agricultural and vocational colleges with the public colleges, while the institutes of technology seemed more opposed to integration with the "other system" in 1971 than they were in 1969. But to balance this the Commission had solved a number of outstanding problems, of which the Red Deer crisis was only the most difficult. The links between colleges and school boards had been cut, while an Association of Alberta College Faculties had begun to represent college faculty. By 1971, a healthy public college system existed, thanks largely to the Provincial Board and the Colleges Commission. The Commission had throughout its existence emphasized the need for better coordination of postsecondary education; the problem of transfer programs remained as if to point to the need for it, and the Social Credit Government had only recently been convinced of the need for it when it was defeated by the electorate.

CONCLUSION

Dr. Swift remarked that in Ontario a design for institutions emerged and institutions grew within it, while in Alberta the colleges grew before the system had been designed (cited in Campbell 1972:134). Alberta's college system was essentially the work of Drs. Mowat and Kolesar, though others, notably Dr. Byrne, had helped the system emerge. By 1971, as Campbell perceived, the focus of the public colleges' attention had shifted from their local communities to the province: this was largely because the Colleges Commission forced such a perspective on them (Campbell 1972:224). As two other observers pointed out, the result was a system partly in the image of public community colleges in the United States (Kolesar 1970; Watson 1971:134). From scattered beginnings over the course of the province's history, purged by the adversities of the inter-war years, institutions had emerged and been formed into a strong collection of institutions by 1971, even though they existed in three separate empires—the college system; the institutes of technology and the vocational centres; and the agricultural and vocational colleges. Further amalgamation would have to wait until after the provincial election of 1971.

Chapter 6

THE TRANSITION PERIOD, 1971-73

In Chapters 4 and 5 examination was made of coordination of universities and of other institutions respectively. The purpose of this chapter is to examine the changes made in postsecondary education in 1971-73 in the context of a significant change in the provincial government. A brief discussion is presented on Alberta's political culture, and study is then made of the Social Credit and Conservative Governments which have existed in Alberta since the Depression. Detailed consideration is given to the rise of the Conservatives and to the origins of their policies on postsecondary education in the period before the 1971 election. The bulk of the chapter is taken up with a description of the actions of the new government in establishing a Department of Advanced Education and, in time, in absorbing within it the functions of the commissions discussed in earlier chapters.

POLITICAL CULTURE IN ALBERTA

A few words about political culture may help to put a discussion of political parties into context. Political culture comprises the "set of attitudes, beliefs and feelings about politics current in a nation at a given time" (Almond and Powell 1978:25). Writers such as Barr have seen Alberta's political culture as coloured in part by Christian fundamentalism: for some years, the province was known as "the buckle on the Bible belt," the latter meaning those parts of North America in which the literal interpretation of the Bible was widely upheld (Barr 1974:151). The content and flavour of such fundamentalism are clearest in the Social Credit League which has been a force in Alberta politics since the early 1930s.

Second, some writers have raised the question of conservatism in Alberta's political culture. S. M. Lipset saw Social Credit as an anti-socialist movement, as well as being largely anti-Semitic and semi-fascist (cited by Baird n.d.:25). However, Alberta seems not to be particularly conservative in a North American context; Gibbins, in a recent study, found little consistent conservatism in the province (in Caldarola 1979:161). Third, a sense of Alberta's uniqueness seems also part of the province's political culture. This is consistent with the fact that for some years Alberta had the only Social Credit Government in the world. In recent years, political scientists have discussed such a sense of uniqueness in terms of prairie opposition to central Canada and in terms of a western separatist movement (Smith in Bellamy et al. 1976:46f; Gibbins, in Caldarola 1979:145).

The most crucial aspect of Alberta's political culture, however, is tolerance of one-party rule. The province has been governed, first by the Liberals, 1905-21, next by the United Farmers of Alberta, 1921-35, then by the Social Credit League, 1935-71, and since 1971 by the Progressive Conservative Party. Each group or party seems to dominate the province for a generation, gaining support at the expense of a weak and divided opposition: apart from Mr. Peter Lougheed in the period 1967-71, Alberta has had almost no Leader of the Opposition worthy of the name and many aspirant Opposition Leaders have failed to gain election to the Legislature. Writers such as Gibbins have explained one-party dominance by finding evidence that Albertans largely feel that a provincial opposition can play no useful role in the prevailing debate between Alberta and the federal government (in Caldarola 1979:162).

In sum, Alberta's political culture is coloured by Christian fundamentalism, a strong sense of the uniqueness of the province's culture and people, and a degree of conservatism. Tolerance of one-party rule appears to be a very distinctive mark of this political culture. Two of the groups which dominated Alberta's politics in their time are discussed below.

THE RISE OF SOCIAL CREDIT

In the Alberta provincial election of 1935 the incumbent United Farmers Government was swept into oblivion by a new force in provincial politics—Social Credit. This "non-party" saw its vote rise from zero to 54.2 percent overnight and retained office for thirty-six years. Why was this so, and what was the character of Social Credit?

Morton saw Alberta in the interwar years as a frontier society with its own peculiar character:

> Alberta was the frontier of frontiers, the outermost limit of arable land on the continent . . . The characteristic frontier malaise of debt, dislocation and restlessness was active in the province. . . . Distance meant increased freight

> charges, an intensified sense of being at the mercy of remote metropolitan powers, the bankers of Montreal, the grain buyers of Winnipeg, the politicians of Ottawa. (Cited by Johnson in Caldarola 1979:89)

The economic climate of the 1930s created great interest in radical, and especially radical monetary, reform throughout North America. A dramatic decline in the market price of wheat and other agricultural produce was felt in all the Canadian prairie provinces—and half of Alberta's population was engaged in farm-related activities in the early 1930s. Thus Alberta provided a fertile field for Social Credit to reap (Johnson in Caldarola 1979:89).

Social Credit began as a Christian fundamentalist movement begun by Mr. William Aberhart which offered comfort and salvation to those oppressed by the province's economic woes. It turned into a political movement which attacked the "Fifty Big Shots of Canada" who were "crucifying" the province to make themselves rich (Barr 1974:79; Caldarola in Caldarola 1979:40). But throughout its life Social Credit remained more of a movement than a party, an almost non-political force which fused religious, political and economic issues in a populist force few could effectively oppose. Those who did oppose it were lambasted by Mr. Aberhart as "traitors" and "fornicators," with principles "like those of the man who betrayed the Christ" (cited in Barr 1974:79).

This movement dominated Alberta's politics for a generation, for the most part without effective opposition. Mr. Aberhart's retirement in 1943 opened the way for his close associate, Mr. Ernest Manning, to become Premier in the same year. Mr. Manning's solid, respectable brand of politics combined political adroitness with populist rhetoric and won the movement seven elections in a row. Balanced budgets and opposition to the socialist Commonwealth Cooperative Federation demonstrated the government's respectability, yet reforms in hospital and medical care were evidence of its concern for individuals. In this way Social Credit seemed to be not only an indigenous product of Alberta's political culture but a permanent part of the political landscape.

SOCIAL CREDIT IN DECLINE

However, Alberta was experiencing changes. A flood of immigrants and the discovery of oil began to shift the province from a predominantly agricultural society to a largely industrialized and semi-urban one. Whereas two-thirds of Albertas lived on farms or in small towns in 1946, two-thirds of them lived in large urban centres by 1961 (Barr 1974:150). By the 1970s, therefore, Alberta had become a rapidly-changing society buoyed up by the prosperity generated by oil; its earlier role as a depressed region was reversed as it began to outstrip neighbouring areas in growth and expanding revenues.

The Socreds tended to be increasingly out of step with the new generation of voters who knew nothing of the miseries of the Depression on the prairies. Government became large and cumbersome as more and more boards and commissions were established: the Alberta section of the Canadian Bar Association listed 123 boards in the province in the late 1960s—far more than in the larger province of Ontario—regulating production of oil and gas, arbitration of industrial disputes and other activities. A plethora of such semi-autonomous boards and commissions were largely left to their own devices, insulating Cabinet from public resentment and making it unresponsive to changes in the province's population (Barr 1974:134).

When Mr. Manning announced his retirement in 1968, Mr. Harry Strom was elected as his successor. At the age of 52 Mr. Strom had a difficult task in attempting to attract young voters to the movement and extend Socred strength to the province's urban areas. Attempts to modernize the movement divided it into factions and caused increased fighting among traditional and radical elements within it. Such failures were exploited by the media, who had long derided the Socreds and portrayed them as a spent force. For these reasons, and others, Socred strength began to wane and the movement lost its command of Alberta's political life.

SOCIAL CREDIT AND EDUCATION, 1968-71

It is important to direct attention here to the Socred record on education. From its inception, Social Credit had been favourably disposed toward education: not only was Mr. Aberhart himself a teacher, but so were many of his fellow Members of the Legislative Assembly. The Socreds seemed to be rather overawed by the universities, and apart from an incident over an honorary degree with the University of Alberta in 1941 they maintained cordial relations with the universities, keeping them on a very loose rein.

Some important developments took place in the period after December, 1968, the month in which Mr. Robert Clark became Minister for Education. Mr. Clark was increasingly aware of the need for better coordination and planning in postsecondary education, and launched a number of initiatives toward improving them. First, he was concerned that the University of Alberta had dominated university education for too long, and was anxious "to see the University of Calgary assume its rightful place" as a sister institution (Clark 1981). His choice of Calgarians to head the Universities Commission represents a deliberate attempt to change the perceived dominance of that Commission by the University of Alberta. Second, he felt that better coordination was needed across the systems of postsecondary education, as he thought it "idiotic" that a student could gain credit for Alberta public college courses more easily in American than in Alberta's universities. For these reasons, Mr. Clark considered creating a single postsecondary commission which would be chaired by Dr. Kolesar, but postponed this task until after the 1971 election (Clark 1981). Third, Mr. Clark commissioned two planning documents on Alberta education. The first was the Commission on Educational Planning, headed by Dr. Worth, vice-president, academic planning at the University of Alberta. Work began on this task in mid-1969 and was still in progress when the Government changed in 1971. The second was Master Plan Number One, the launching of which has been discussed in an earlier chapter. The results of these enquiries are dealt with later in this chapter, as they were an important part of the transition toward a more coordinated system of postsecondary education.

THE RISE OF PETER LOUGHEED

While Socred strength waned in the late 1960s, another force had emerged on the political scene. From unimpressive beginnings, the Progressive Conservative* Party had developed into a vigorous opposition, largely because of sound planning by Mr. Peter Lougheed.

Lougheed's Game Plan

Mr. Lougheed had been chosen as Conservative leader in 1965. Although his prospects were poor, he developed a strategy for eventual success and kept to it. In the first place, he built up the party's almost nonexistent provincial organization, opening an office in Edmonton and touring provincial centres to give advice and assistance to branches. Second, he made a number of appointments to his staff, all businessmen between the ages of thirty and forty-five, competent administrative types whose principal loyalty was to him. Finally, his strategy was to look and act like a party leader at all times in a conscious attempt to increase his visibility and credibility (Serfaty 1976:264f).

The 1967 Election

By the time of the 1967 provincial election, Mr. Lougheed had managed to organize a number of attractive candidates for the Legislature and to back them with an enthusiastic and energetic party organization. The results were a boost for the party, for it gained a vote across the province of 26 percent, the most impressive since 1917. Six members had been elected, including Mr. Lougheed and Dr. Hugh Horner; none but Dr. Horner had had any political experience before the election. For the first time in most people's memories, Alberta had an opposition worthy of the name (Serfaty 1976: 288).

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*For convenience the more common ('Conservative') name has been used hereafter.

Building Party Strength

Once in the House, Mr. Lougheed showed that his small party was determined to be taken seriously. He startled the Socreds by suggesting a Conservative member as chairman of the public accounts committee, moved non-confidence motions, and introduced his own Bills (Scrapbook Hansard, February 16, March 5, 1968). To cap their successes, the Conservatives had two by-election wins (one in the seat vacated by Mr. Manning) and attracted an independent Member and the remaining Liberal, bringing their numbers to ten. Clearly their fortunes were steadily improving (Edmonton Journal, February 11, 1969).

Towards 1971

As a probable election date drew near, Mr. Lougheed took pains with his media coverage. He studied the Kennedy and Trudeau campaigns, attempting to emulate the task force approach of the former and the festive gaiety of the latter (Serfaty 1976:328). In the same vein, election material was focussed on a theme of Mr. Lougheed and his team of bright, energetic young men—the words "Conservative" and "party" scarcely appeared in campaign literature. Although former Premier Manning was brought in late in the campaign to attack this approach, deriding Mr. Lougheed as a "Madison Avenue glamour boy" with a "Hollywood handshake" and "the charm of an Avon lady," these attacks backfired. With a well-planned, smoothly-orchestrated campaign, Mr. Lougheed stormed into power in 1971, to the amazement of most commentators and politicians in the country (Serfaty 1976:350f; Hustak 1979:137).

THE 1971 ELECTION

The Conservatives had made giant steps in the years between 1965 and the election. They had captured a large proportion of city voters, new voters, and those of high status, winning all sixteen seats in Edmonton and nine of thirteen seats in Calgary. They had won, in all, forty-nine of the seventy-five seats. It was the most dramatic election in the province since the Social Credit victory of 1935, and it looked as if a realignment had occurred in Alberta (Palmer and Palmer 1976:125; Serfaty 1976:356). A few explanatory notes are necessary on this point.

Realignment

The concept of realignment appears to derive from Burnham, who perceived two basic types of national election in the United States. The first maintains the status quo, as apart from a scattering of seats, there are no changes in the election result; the second radically alters the arrangement of parties. The following cycle tends to occur, as the "status quo" election is more common. After an extended period of stability, broadly based discontent appears, while a tension-producing event such as a depression impels an ideological debate in which accepted orthodoxies are challenged. The result is a massive realignment of voters, with accepted patterns of voting being swept away. A new status quo has emerged and remains for another prolonged period. It is important to note that Burnham did not say that the government necessarily changed hands in a realignment election (Burnham 1967:287-289). The concept of realignment was expanded by Campbell and Trilling to distinguish between a critical, or realignment election, and the more gradual realignment which took place over a period of years (1980:4).

The 1971 election in Alberta appears to be a sudden realignment, but electoral percentages point to a movement over the period 1967-75 among the four main parties:

	SC	PC	Lib	NDP
1967	44.6	26.0	10.8	16.0
1971	41.1	46.4	1.0	11.4
1975	18.2	62.7	5.0	12.9

(Caldarola 1979:373)

A few brief points can be made about the election. First, it is clear that over the period 1967-75 a realignment of voters occurred, with the Conservatives appearing to pick up votes from all other parties. Second, personalities of leaders and the influence of media are widely seen as critical developments in bringing this change about; Barr, in particular, made much of the contrast in the media between Mr. Strom's rather dull and pedestrian image and the vigorous, efficient image projected by Mr. Lougheed (Barr 1974:203,216;

Caldarola, in Caldarola 1979:54). Fourth, the media took some pains to assist Mr. Lougheed's campaign. The Edmonton Journal, for instance, supported Mr. Lougheed editorially, and a subtler presentation of the man in photographs and articles in news, sports and feature pages encouraged readers to see him as vigorous, yet safe and trustworthy. While an article by Mr. Guy Demarino finished by quoting an unidentified farmer as saying "I guess a change won't hurt," Mr. Strom's campaign reports were headlined "Poor Turnout" or "Winds of Change . . ." (Edmonton Journal, August 20-25, 1971). Fifth, few substantial issues appeared in the election. The issues given attention seem to have been, in order of importance, (1) the argument that the Socreds had had power for too long; (2) the personalities and merits of Mr. Strom and Mr. Lougheed; and (3) the need for smaller government and a new broom through the tangled thicket of public service departments, boards and commissions.

THE CONSERVATIVES IN GOVERNMENT

The election was followed by a lull. The Government seemed to "go into a huddle," as if to try to work out what to do next. Ideas were gathered, consultations with other provincial leaders, notably Ontario's, proceeded, and party members were called up to the Premier's residence at Banff (Hustak 1979:144). At length a Cabinet was chosen and some preliminary ideas emerged for the new administration. An apt comment from Mr. Lougheed on election day was "after thirty-six years do you think there's still anyone around who remembers how in the hell you change a government?" (cited in Hustak 1979:137).

After October, 1971 a series of decisions began to emerge. The Premier lived up to his promise to take a sharp look at the bureaucracy: eventually, a number of perceived political appointees were removed from various boards and other instrumentalities; Hustak declared that the Premier replaced "seventy percent of all senior deputy ministers who held key positions" (1979:140). Apparently this was not done often enough to satisfy Conservative party critics (Foster 1982). The Government remembered its promise to attack the large numbers of boards and commissions: some, such as the Human Resources Research Council, which might have seemed to be a Socred organization, were abolished. Many others, from the Alberta Liquor Control Board to a large number of agricultural boards and commissions, still survive.

In its first eighteen months of government, then, the Conservative administration contented itself with a few substantial actions, although it passed a Bill of Rights and inaugurated an Alberta Hansard. Its emphasis was on reorganization and efficient administration. In part this was because of the Government's anxiety about its revenues, for while its resources seemed slim, it was faced with escalating costs in health, welfare, and education. Accordingly, all these areas were of great concern to the Government and were placed on restricted budgets (Foster 1982; Caldarola 1979:59). The Government's policy and actions in regard to postsecondary education are discussed in detail in the remainder of this chapter.

A DEVELOPING EDUCATION POLICY

As the Conservatives had drawn closer to a possible election date, they had gathered a number of ideas about education. Their concern for small government was the first of these to emerge; this went together with an emphasis on cost-cutting and an attack on waste.

A Concern for Costs

The Conservative Convention held in Calgary on January 25, 1969 gave few indications of what the party might do in government. One major thrust of Mr. Lougheed's conference speech is noteworthy—its stress on eradicating red tape, waste by civil servants and unnecessary duplication of services. Virtually no comment was made on education apart from a promise to "reduce the overall cost of education" (Lougheed 1969:8).

This emphasis on accountability of civil servants was increased in the platform prepared for the 1971 election. By this time education was much discussed, thanks to student demonstrations and the much-publicized public forums conducted by the Worth Commission; Dr. Worth had held a bearpit discussion in Camrose with the Conservative party in 1969 at which Mr. Lougheed had expressed concern with the overall quality of education in the province (Snowden 1981). The 1971 party platform declared that a plan for postsecondary education needed to be prepared for the province, providing for effective methods of accountability to the Legislature of "the vast public expenditures on postsecondary education." An end to waste, and improvements in arrangements for transfer among institutions, were the main goals of the party in postsecondary education (NOW 1971:n.p.).

Proposals for Reorganizing Postsecondary Education

These demands for accountability led to another Conservative proposal—to restructure postsecondary education. The connection was pointed out by Mr. Harry Midgley in a thoughtful article in the *Edmonton Journal* on September 10, 1971. It was plain, he said, that increased expenditures and increased dependence by institutions on public funds led to demands for more accountability; in other words, governments increasingly wanted to know what institutions were doing with the funds they were given and wanted to guide institutions towards government's own goals. Mr. Midgley had accurately pinpointed the direction of Conservative thinking on education at the post-school level. In an interview printed in *Challenge* and recorded a few months before the election, Mr. Lou Hyndman promised that if elected his party would set up an administrative body "to rationalize and coordinate postsecondary education in Alberta." The new body, said Mr. Hyndman, would not be part of the Department of Education but might "combine the best features of the Universities and Colleges Commissions, and the Department of University Affairs in Ontario. We could learn from them both" (cited in Bryce et al. 1971:49). But the Conservatives were not yet clear about what kind of reorganization they wanted. The party's platform promised to plan all facilities *within* the Department of Education and

> To reorganize the various Commissions and other governing bodies into one comprehensive Post-Secondary Education

> Commission to ensure improved coordination of facilities and course contents [sic], allowing for the greatest possible degree of local autonomy. (NOW 1971:n.p.)

While the party's goals—accountability and tighter control—were clear, it had not decided irrevocably on whether the new agency would be inside or outside of the Department, nor whether it would be a commission or a department, on the model of the Department of Universities and Colleges which existed in Ontario.

A NEW MINISTER, A NEW DEPARTMENT

When the Conservatives won the election they had to decide fairly quickly what they intended to do. The Cabinet included Mr. Lou Hyndman as Minister for Education and Mr. James Foster as Minister for Advanced Education. The Premier's statement at the time of this announcement makes plain his concern with costs and his determination that Cabinet would control education:

> "The purpose of splitting the department of education into two parts is to make this largest spending department more manageable by a cabinet policymaker and to assure [sic] that cost and quality control measures in both cases are receiving much greater attention by a minister," Mr. Lougheed said. (Edmonton Journal, September 10, 1971)

The idea of combining all postsecondary educational governance in one departmental body was discussed by the Premier and Mr. Foster when the Cabinet was being formed, and the idea was clearly in the Minister's mind from the outset. News that university enrolments had tapered off allowed Mr. Foster to comment on the matter two days later in the Journal. He said that institutional growth had occurred in the past "without careful planning" with the result that "large, impersonal institutions" had been allowed to develop. This pointed to the need for better control of postsecondary education by government, he said:

> Mr. Foster said there is a possibility that the existing Universities Commission and Colleges Commission, along with other postsecondary administrative personnel, might be combined into one governing body.
>
> He noted that he has already appointed a deputy minister of postsecondary education [sic] from within the department of education and that the agricultural and vocational colleges are being placed under the department's control, instead of the department of agriculture. (Edmonton Journal, September 24, 1971)

The timing of the announcement is worth noting. It suggests that the Government had by September, 1971 decided not only to establish a new Department of Advanced Education, but to absorb within it the functions of the two commissions. In an interview in 1982, Mr. Foster confirmed that this was indeed the case. But the idea of "floating a balloon" to see if it attracted widespread and vituperative attack seems to have guided Mr. Foster's actions over the forthcoming eighteen months as he moved steadily towards a restructuring of postsecondary governance. Nobody responded in the Journal to Mr. Foster's "balloon," nor, apart from the Midgley article discussed above, was very much public comment made about the government's intentions. The postsecondary institutions had failed to rise up and defend the commissions, and Mr. Foster proceeded with his plans for reorganization (Foster 1982).

The new department was established by Order in Council on September 10, 1971; legislation covering this act was not to come until the following year. As first established, the Department consisted of the Division of Technical and Vocational Education from the Department of Education, a group administering the agricultural and vocational colleges from the Department of Agriculture and Continuing

Education and the Students Finance Board, also formerly attached to the Department of Education.

The first days of the Department were somewhat confused. A joint meeting was held between the two education Ministers and the senior members of the Department of Education to sort out initial arrangements. To add to the confusion, Dr. Bob Rees, Deputy Minister of the Department of Education, was away in Europe. After some preliminary discussions, the question arose of a meeting of the Council of Ministers for Education, forthcoming in Ontario. It seemed that "someone called Erickson" had arranged for himself and Mr. Foster to attend. Questions were asked: who was Mr. Erickson? The new Ministers were told he was a recent Socred appointee to the chairmanship of the Universities Commission; it was decided that Mr. Al Bredo should go to the meeting of the Council of Ministers instead. Mr. Bredo acted as Deputy Minister of Advanced Education until Dr. Rees returned from vacation; by that time it had been decided that Dr. Earl Hawkesworth would become Deputy Minister of Education. Dr. Rees held the position of Deputy Minister of Advanced Education from his return until June 9, 1972; Mr. Jack Mitchell then held it until Dr. Worth became Deputy Minister in September, 1972 (interviews and conversations with senior members of both Departments, 1981-82).

A number of critical developments occurred at this time. The most interesting of them was the jockeying of senior civil servants for the Minister's favour; those outside the inner circle of senior advisers were pushed aside as the bureaucracy moved to protect its own interests. The senior civil servants in Education seem to have accepted the Government's decision to split the Department, but saw the division as one between "real education" and "the rest": the latter was seen as not quite legitimate, and not a particularly desirable field of work, especially because of the tendency over 1972-73 for it to be overtaken by newcomers (interviews with public officials, 1982).

THE COMMISSIONS AND THE NEW GOVERNMENT

In this section the relationship between the new Government and the postsecondary commissions will be given attention; a later section will examine the movement of staff out of the commissions.

The Universities Commission

As indicated above, it had come to the Government's attention that the Universities Commission was chaired by a recent Socred appointee. In fact Mr. Erickson had been appointed by Mr. Clark from the Board of Governors at the University of Calgary (to which he had been elected by the alumni association). Mr. Erickson had broken up a partnership to take up the position on a one-year term from August 1, 1971. Mr. Erickson's position was very vulnerable: he was a Calgarian, he had little contact with the academic community, and as a young man had few established contacts in the bureaucracy. Mr. Foster met with him on Monday, November 8, and immediately requested his resignation. The chairman asked for the reason; Mr. Foster said it was a political decision reached by Cabinet, adding that if necessary the Government could rescind the Order in Council which had appointed him. A settlement was eventually agreed on, but the question of whether such a payment was taxable was still being discussed in February, 1972. In the meantime Mr. Haughton Thomson had been brought in as a caretaker chairman. The last chairman of the Commission was employed on a month-to-month basis, his services being leased from his firm. Clearly the Government was moving steadily towards the time when commission chairmen would not be needed (Foster 1982; interviews with members of the Commission, 1981-82; and Commission Minutes).

These events put the Universities Commission under a cloud, and did nothing to improve its standing with the Government. At a key time, in which the Government's intentions to abolish the commissions were firming, these occurrences were unfortunate for those members of the Universities Commission who hoped for advancement with the Government. Meetings continued, and work on the Academic Master Plan proceeded, but as 1972 drew on, morale on the Commission fell steadily (interviews with members of the Commission, 1981).

The Colleges Commission

Like the other commission, the Colleges Commission was in a vulnerable position when the Government changed. However, after an initial shock, Commission staff attacked their duties with renewed vigour and showed considerable skill in "sniffing the wind" and responding to Government requests. Staff continued to join the Commission and Master Plan Number One progressed, much to the satisfaction of the Government, for both shared a concern for streamlining the administration of postsecondary education. The matter of transferability alone was one on which the

Commission and Mr. Foster agreed; there seem to have been no immediate issues on which the Minister and the Commission disagreed.

One further development was critical to the Commission's chairman, Dr. Kolesar. The Red Deer crisis (discussed in the previous chapter) blew up in Mr. Foster's first six months as Minister. This question was of great concern to the Minister; it could have proved a fatal problem for Dr. Kolesar, for it had developed under his chairmanship. As it turned out, Mr. Foster turned to Dr. Kolesar and his staff for advice and assistance. The problem was well on the way toward solution by August, 1972 and helped a great deal to give the Commission's staff credibility in the eyes of the Government (Foster 1982).

This matter helps to explain a key question: Why did not Dr. Kolesar suffer the same fate as did Mr. Erickson? The Red Deer crisis is certainly part of the answer. Second, Mr. Erickson was seen as a political appointee from the last weeks of the old Government, whereas Dr. Kolesar was an established career public servant. Third, whereas Mr. Erickson's departure seems not to have been lamented by the universities, Dr. Kolesar's dismissal might have provoked some reaction both from the colleges and, perhaps, from the civil service. As it was, all the public colleges had gone on record at least once in defence of the Colleges Commission by September, 1972 (Commission papers for the September, 1972 meeting).

At the September 14, 1972 meeting of the Colleges Commission Mr. Foster appeared and announced that the Government had decided to abolish both commissions (a similar statement was made to the

Universities Commission in the same month). Staff of the two commissions can hardly have welcomed these announcements and went through a period of increased uncertainty. The Minister had promised positions for them in the reorganized Department of Advanced Education, but what positions would be offered to whom and what salaries would be negotiated? The commissions therefore sank in morale as 1972 proceeded (interviews with former members of both commissions, 1981-82).

Thus Mr. Foster had decided to press ahead with plans to abolish the commissions. A chance meeting with a staff member of the Universities Commission in September resulted in a discussion about morale of Commission staff; the answer was that morale was low and sinking further. The Minister replied "I'm only floating a balloon." By this time, however, the Minister clearly felt confident enough to announce his plans publicly. He had found that as soon as any heated confrontation arose, matters came to his office; what, therefore, was the point of commissions? Again, Red Deer was an important case which the Minister saw as evidence for this argument (Foster 1982).

It is necessary now to go back some months in order to discuss the importance for the transition period of Master Plan Number One and the Worth Commission.

MASTER PLAN NUMBER ONE: RECOMMENDATIONS AND REACTIONS

In an earlier chapter, the Master Plan was discussed in a study of the work of the Colleges Commission. Here it is necessary merely to take note of some of its recommendations, to survey reactions to it, and assess its significance.

The Master Plan surveyed non-university public postsecondary education in Alberta and found that it was administered by more than six branches of the Government, in addition to the two commissions. There was need to pull together administrative control, the Master Plan argued: one agency should assume responsibility for all postsecondary education. The agency suggested was a Planning and Review Board. All institutions should be under the umbrella of the Department of Advanced Education to facilitate coordination: an integrated system of postsecondary education could emerge from these changes and institutional roles be developed so that institutions would cease to compete in unnecessary ways (Bosetti 1972:5,22f).

The Master Plan made a number of specific recommendations for institutions in Alberta. The Vocational Centres in Edmonton and Calgary, it argued, should be incorporated into the public colleges in those cities, while the agricultural and vocational colleges at Fairview and Vermilion should be made satellites of Grant McEwan College and Grande Prairie Regional College respectively. These recommendations are identical with those made for the same institutions by the Worth Commission (1972:89f). Overall, the Master Plan provided for a reduction in the number of institutions in the province and recommended that all institutions be established under a board of governors (Bosetti 1972:31).

Reactions

Reaction in public to the Master Plan seems to have been limited, possibly because it was released shortly after the Worth

Commission Report and close to Mr. Foster's announcement that the Department of Advanced Education would be reorganized and the functions of the postsecondary commissions absorbed within it. However, the radical nature of its proposals caused alarm in some quarters. The principals of the agricultural colleges exchanged letters expressing shock and outrage at the suggestion that the smaller agricultural colleges be absorbed into the public college system. Mr. Collin, Principal of Olds College, denounced the Master Plan for its "absolute garbage" and "absolute heresy" and attacked its proposals in public at a meeting in Red Deer on March 9, 1973. The universities seem not to have paid very much attention to the Master Plan, although in suggesting the abolition of the Universities Commission, the Plan clearly implied that a new body had to replace it (documents of the Red Deer meeting in Department of Advanced Education and Manpower).

The Master Plan was well received by the Government, which was strongly in sympathy with its theme of better coordination in postsecondary education. However, some of its recommendations proved difficult to implement. The proposals regarding Fairview College were met with dogged resistance, as were a number of others. As a result, decisions on these institutions were postponed, some of them indefinitely (Foster 1982). Some continuing issues in postsecondary education raised by the Master Plan are discussed later in this chapter.

Significance

The Master Plan was an important document for the period of transition. It allowed the Government to "float" ideas, once more, to test their acceptability. Second, it provided a rationale for a reorganization of postsecondary education and was used by the Government to justify its decisions in regard to increasing accountability in postsecondary education. Third, it demonstrated the courage of its author in grasping the nettle of institutional governance; the comparison with the Universities Commission and its ill-fated Academic Master Plan cannot have escaped the Government. Fourth, it demonstrated that the thinking of senior staff in the Colleges Commission was in harmony with the thrust of Government policy.

THE WORTH COMMISSION

Mention has been made in an earlier section of this chapter of a Commission on Educational Planning (here referred to as the Worth Commission) established in the last years of the Social Credit Government. In this section a brief review is made of the work of the Commission's Task Force on Postsecondary Education, note taken of the Commission's final recommendations on postsecondary education and the significance of the Commission for the transition period is assessed.

The Role of the Task Force

The Commission established a Task Force on Postsecondary Education to examine issues such as teaching and learning, conditions of work, and coordination in relation to postsecondary education institutions. The Coordinator of the Task Force was Dr. Kristjanson of the Universities Commission. Dr. Fast of the Colleges Commission was Executive Secretary, and there was representation from universities, public colleges, and the Department of Education. The Task Force issued an interim report in February, 1971, recommending an Administrative Council which would be superimposed over existing commissions and departments of government. The interim report declared:

> With the inclusion of additional responsibilities for the Education Portfolio it is strongly recommended that the three major branches currently in existence continue to coordinate the activities of education to 1980. These are the Department of Education, the Alberta Colleges Commission, and the Alberta Universities Commission. While there has on occasion been criticism of the Commission form of governance, it is felt that at certain times the advantages of Commissions far outweigh the disadvantages. This is particularly true when the development of growth of systems, sub-systems and individual institutions are in the formative stages as they currently are. (1971:75)

The Task Force saw the Colleges Commission as the coordinator of all non-university postsecondary education. The Universities Commission would continue to coordinate universities and any similar institutions which might be created in the future. The Department of Education would be left in control only of education up to matriculation level, while a Research and Information Agency would assist all three bodies. The latter idea persisted and emerged in the Final Report's recommendations for a planning and research body which would service two departments of education. The other principal recommendations are significant because they were discussed with, and rejected by, the Conservative Government. Clearly, the change of government meant that certain assumptions of the Task Force were no longer applicable. Accordingly, the Task Force was asked to rewrite its recommendations and did so. The results can be seen in the Final Report of the Worth Commission (Fast 1981).

The Worth Report's Comments on Postsecondary Education

The Report's recommendations on postsecondary education echoed the call for coordination made by Master Plan Number One. The Report took up the question of whether postsecondary institutions helped young people train themselves for useful employment, and whether institutions seriously tried to facilitate transfer among themselves. It found that there was far too little coordination among institutions and saw a need for streamlining the arrangements for external governance of institutions (Worth 1972:82-83). In a key passage, the Report announced its proposal to abolish the postsecondary education commissions:

> Continued maintenance of the Alberta Colleges Commission and the Alberta Universities Commission will only splinter and distort the efforts of the Department of Advanced Education. It is proposed, therefore, that the two commissions be dissolved and that their responsibilities be taken over by the department. (1972:131)

The reasons listed for this proposal included the restriction of competition among institutions, the elimination of unnecessary distinctions between "noble" and "less noble" institutions, and the better planning which would emerge from the change. A final reason offered was that "responsibility for policy decisions vital to the welfare of all Albertans will be taken by elected representatives" (1972:131). This recalled the statement made by the Premier in September, 1971 that two Departments were being established in order to allow Cabinet Ministers to control education more readily (see

p. 146). Finally, in an unconscious piece of irony, the Commission observed that "Commissions or coordinating boards are seldom as effective and independent as they are intended to be" (Worth 1972:132).

Some further recommendations of the Final Report may be touched on here. The Report saw the Department of Education as linked to the Department of Advanced Education, in part by shared support, research and planning units. The Department of Advanced Education would need reorganizing into two divisions: first, higher education—this would minister to the needs of universities, colleges and institutes and take care of problems of program duplication and transfer of credits as well as being responsible for programs transferred to the Department from other departments of Government. The further education division would administer further and continuing education, leadership training, apprenticeship and trade courses (Worth 1972:136).

The Report made a number of recommendations regarding the province's four universities. The University of Alberta was seen as an institution which should emphasize research, though not at the expense of standards of teaching. The University of Calgary, it said, should concentrate more heavily than the senior institution on junior undergraduate programs, and not duplicate its programs unnecessarily: thus there was no need for programs in law, dentistry, pharmacy or agriculture at Calgary. The University of Lethbridge should be held at its present enrolment, it said, and the new Athabasca University should be preserved, in part to help diversify opportunities available to Albertans in higher education (Worth 1972:84-86). Essentially the

Report saw a hierarchy of universities in the province with the oldest university at its apex. Not surprisingly, the Report was not well received by the University of Calgary.

As far as the non-university sector of postsecondary education was concerned, the Report's recommendations were consistent with its emphasis on better coordination and simpler external governance. The agricultural and vocational colleges were seen as belonging with the public colleges; Fairview College, the Report said, might best become a satellite of Grande Prairie Regional College. The Alberta Vocational Centres in Edmonton and Calgary were recommended for amalgamation with the public colleges in those cities, while the centre at Grouard should be moved to a place from which it could better serve a student population. The institutes of technology should continue to complement university offerings, but could consider offering some degrees. Finally, an Alberta Academy should be erected to cater to lifelong learning in the province (1972:88-98).

The Report's recommendations were bold and sweeping. Overall there was a commendable attempt to rethink educational problems (including governance) without being limited to easy solutions. Inevitably, some of the recommendations in school- and post-school education were somewhat ambitious. Like the Master Plan, the Report had taken a broad perspective and attempted to raise perceptions about education in Alberta.

Reaction to the Report

The Report was released in June, at a time when many academics prepare for summer activities, and reactions to it did not develop until later in the year; by this time the Government had announced its intentions of abolishing the commissions.

Reactions to the Report were handled by the Cabinet Committee on Education between June 16, 1972 and May, 1973; in all 3,270 responses were received.* These included some protests from vocational centres about proposals to amalgamate them with other institutions or move them to other locations. A number of responses were received from the universities, all of them apparently after the decision to abolish the commissions had been announced in September, 1972. First, various groups from the University of Calgary, as well as from the city, wrote to oppose the plan to relegate the University, as they saw it, to a second-rate institution, and a number of responses made angry reference to the Faculty of Law, then under discussion. Second, a number of groups from the two major universities wrote to protest the proposed abolition of the postsecondary commissions; one R. D. Bramwell protested that this showed that the Report espoused democratic goals, but suggested that they could be reached by undemocratic methods (Submission, November 3, 1972). However, there was by no means a united attack on the proposal by the universities: a large number of responses attacked the Report for what they saw as its unwieldy format, bad writing, and turgid style, or other matters such as its discussion of university teaching and its tentative proposals to change tenure arrangements (Response from Department of Educational Administration, University of Calgary, December 20, 1972). Moreover, "public" responses frequently showed support for the Report's stand on accountability and transferability, and most responses seem not to have opposed the suggested reorganization of postsecondary education. In essence, then, the Government had the endorsement for its proposals that it was seeking—from the public at large, if not from postsecondary institutions.

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*This information has been obtained from abstracts of responses to the Report made for the Cabinet Committee on Education and presently held by Mr. L. Shorter, Director of ACCESS.

The Political Significance of the Report

While the Worth Commission served a wide number of purposes, its political significance seems plain. First, it allowed the government to test the popularity of some of its plans, most obviously the plan to absorb the functions of the two commissions in the Department of Advanced Education, but also plans for the agricultural and vocational colleges and the vocational centres. As indicated above, the lack of consistent opposition encouraged the Government to proceed with its plans in the majority of cases, although continuing resistance to change by the vocational centres succeeded in postponing changes proposed for them. Second, like the Master Plan, the Report gave the Government a rationale for its plans to reorganize postsecondary education. Finally, the Report gave Dr. Worth a great deal of prestige: responses had arrived from various parts of Canada, Australia, and the United States and these added to his existing reputation. Thus when Dr. Worth became Deputy Minister he was a man politically experienced, generally well thought of, and internationally recognized—a man who could command the necessary authority to begin a very difficult task in dismantling the two commissions.

THE NEW DEPARTMENT: STRUCTURE AND PERSONNEL

In this section study is made of two closely related matters: the process of decision-making which produced a revised structure for the Department of Advanced Education in 1972-73, and the concurrent process by which individuals were chosen to fill positions in the structure. Ideas about both these matters had been germinating in the minds of Dr. Worth, Mr. Foster and others in the period up to September, 1972, the month in which Dr. Worth became Deputy Minister.

A brief note is necessary on the choice of Dr. Worth himself. Mr. Foster seems to have had a number of considerations in mind: he needed a strong Deputy Minister who was acceptable to all the major postsecondary institutions, who was strong enough to make the changes desired by the Government and familiar with the political and administrative problems which the incumbent might experience. After advertising the position and considering others for the position, Mr. Foster chose Dr. Worth, who was acceptable to the universities and to other institutions (Foster 1982).

The New Structure

Shortly after Dr. Worth took up duty, an advisory committee was called together to work on a reorganization for the Department. The committee was chaired by Dr. Fenske of the Colleges Commission and is referred to here as the Fenske Committee. It began meeting early in October, 1972 and built on earlier discussions and proposals for improving coordination in postsecondary education in Alberta, as well as suggestions made in the Worth Report and *Master Plan Number One*. Its role, then, was not to write a reorganization proposal *de novo* but to build on current ideas and suggestions.

The committee began by examining the Department as it then was and went on to consider the changes which would become necessary when it took over the functions, and possibly the staff, of the two commissions. A division of the Department into institutional divisions, as proposed in the Worth Report, was rejected by Mr. Foster, who wanted above all to break down some of the divisions in postsecondary education, encourage a province-wide viewpoint among institutions, and make transfer among institutions easier. Accordingly, a functional division of the Department emerged, with (1) a programs division to take care of program approval and keep a register of programs; (2) an administrative services division to take care of funding, legislation and other matters; and (3) a special services division to take care of matters relating to fees and student housing. Up to three Assistant Ministers would oversee these divisions (Appendix B, Nussbaumer 1977:234ff; all references are to the final version of the committee's report, approved by Cabinet). A Planning and Research Division would serve both education departments, giving assistance and advice on priorities, policies, research and development, as suggested by the Worth Report. Finally, six advisory committees were recommended for establishment to allow for lay contributions and institutional representation in the governance of postsecondary education. The committees were on college affairs, education of native peoples, further education, student affairs, university affairs, and technical and vocational education (Appendix B, Nussbaumer 1977:245-248).

The committee's work was completed within six weeks. Its report was circulated within the Department in November and a seminar was held to discuss it on November 14. The seminar was chaired by Dr. Fenske, though Mr. Foster was present to observe reaction to it first-hand. Opinions were sought from institutions, and students in the Department of Educational Administration at the University of Alberta provided a type of evaluation of the report. This process modified the report and the final version gave increased emphasis to the need for coordination, and the need to rationalize the administration of postsecondary education within the Department as it already existed. Cabinet saw the report on two or three occasions and approved it, with minor modifications, in January, 1973 (Foster 1982).

Choosing Staff for the Department

Dr. Worth, in consultation with Dr. Kolesar, seems to have made most of the appointments for the reorganized Department; Mr. Foster kept a close watch on appointments and made suggestions on staffing down to Director level (Foster 1982). Mr. Mitchell became Assistant Deputy Minister for Special Services after representations were made to the Minister from the institutes of technology. Dr. Kolesar, from the Colleges Commission, became Assistant Deputy Minister for Administrative Services, and Dr. Fast from the same agency became

Assistant Deputy Minister for Program Services (this position was later filled by Dr. Bosetti, again from the Colleges Commission). Thus all senior members of the Colleges Commission (as well as Dr. Fenske, Mr. Batty and Mr. Berghofer) were placed in senior positions in the reorganized Department. In contrast, few members of the Universities Commission survived the transfer to Departmental coordination. The Commission's Chairman, Mr. Thomson, returned to his firm; Dr. Worth made Mr. Barry Snowden, who had worked part-time for the Commission, his assistant. Mr. Harvey Ford was offered a position in the Department, but not at the level he wanted. Other staff were not offered positions, and in at least one case a settlement was reached with staff whose employment was terminated. Apart from Mr. Snowden, therefore, staff from the Universities Commission did not join the Department of Advanced Education (Commission Minutes, interviews with former staff members from both commissions, and Long 1979:347).

The staffing of the Department was a critical matter for the Government, which wished to recruit well-qualified, experienced staff who were prepared to carry out its policies. It is impossible to avoid noticing that members of the former Colleges Commission were well placed in the reorganized Department, nor that most members of their fellow Commission were not placed in it at all. This fact did not escape those who had been in the commissions, and former members of the Universities Commission complained that the Department had been taken over by "ed. admin. types" and "paper shufflers" (interviews, 1981). Given the developments outlined in this chapter, however, the emergence of Dr. Kolesar and others in the new Department should have caused no surprise.

One other comment can be made here about staff of the new Department. One senior administrator represented the agricultural colleges: this was Mr. Hawker, former Director of the Agricultural Colleges in the Department of Education, who became Associate Director of Administrative Services in the Department. The technical and vocational sector was rather better represented by Messrs. Mitchell, Williamson, Souch and Villett; perhaps this was a reflection of the satisfaction felt by the new Government towards the institutes and vocational centres (Foster 1982; Birdsall 1975:47).

NEW LEGISLATION

Two key pieces of legislation gave official sanction to the changes made in the administration of postsecondary education. The Department of Advanced Education Act (Bill 33) of 1972 was debated in the Legislature in May and assented to on June 2 of that year. Introducing the Bill, Mr. Foster said it would

> pull together the sometimes divergent activities of advanced education in this province and will permit a minister to give greater attention to the problems and concerns of advanced education. (Alberta Hansard, May 15, 1972)

Although Mr. Robert Clark, now Opposition Spokesman on Education, spoke of the dangers which the Government's evident desire to centralize administration posed for academic freedom, most speakers on both sides of the House agreed with the need for coordination and supported the Bill (Alberta Hansard, March 24, May 15, October 25, 1972).

These two Acts gave the Minister very substantial powers, including that of making regulations governing the payment of grants, and that of prescribing fees. The powers of general faculty councils to regulate admissions and degree requirements remained, as did the right of the Coordinating Council to set minimum standards for the affiliation of colleges. But these powers were conditional on the Minister's approval of affiliation requirements. As Long argued, these changes reduced the prerogatives of the universities and gave the Minister and the Department the lion's share of authority over transfers as well as broad powers over postsecondary education in general (1979:237). The result was a new balance of power in the politics of postsecondary education in Alberta.

REACTION TO THE CHANGES

How did institutions react to the changes discussed above, both in regard to the reorganization of the Department and the legislation which authorized it? A short survey of institutions appears below.

In 1971 the agricultural and vocational colleges had at last been removed from the administration of the Department of Agriculture; staff in the colleges and those administering them seem to have felt very uncertain about the colleges' future (memo, Hawker to Kolesar, November 29, 1971). This uncertainty focussed on the desire to preserve the character of the colleges in the face of proposals to amalgamate them with other institutions, but such proposals came to naught.

Institutions in the technical and vocational sector had watched the growth of the colleges sector with some concern. When they came under the jurisdiction of the Department of Advanced Education in 1971, staff remained determined to maintain the separate identities of these institutions; the fact that they were well represented in the reorganized Department meant that they could resist changes in governance which they saw as undesirable.

The presidents of the public colleges were not initially pleased with the plan to dismantle the Colleges Commission. However, the fact that many staff members of that commission gained key positions in the reorganized Department seems to have softened colleges' criticism of the changes (Colleges Commission Minutes and papers for September, 1972 meeting).

Universities

In many ways the universities seem to have fared worst from the transition to Departmental coordination. They seem to have been dissatisfied with the Universities Commission and to have expected a return to the days when the president of the University of Alberta asked the Government for funds without having to go through committees or elaborate procedures to do so (Minutes of the Commission, January 22, 1973). The abolition of the Commission and the perceived preponderance of non-university administrators in the new Department seem to have stunned the universities, which were slow to react to these changes. Members of the Universities Commission interviewed acknowledged bitterly that the universities had failed to defend the Commission until it had been abolished. The universities seem to have felt that their autonomy was under attack, but were apprehensive that criticism of the changes would only make matters worse (Harry Midgley, Edmonton Journal, April 28, 1973). They hoped that the Government's proposal to give the universities three-year funding would provide a solution for some of their difficulties (Edmonton Journal, October 19, 1972). However, it also seems true that many in the universities seem not to have perceived that the proposals being floated in the Worth Report and Master Plan Number One were part of the Government's long-term plan to bring the universities into a provincial system of postsecondary education.

In early 1973 the University of Calgary at last began to attack the Government's plans. A paper issued in February by President Carrothers' office claimed that universities had been forced into the political arena by a "lame-duck Universities Commission," that university privileges were under attack and that the Government was pushing ahead with its plans for a "centralized system" of postsecondary education. The paper said that Dr. Worth and his assistants would "run the show pretty much as they see fit." In a "parody of consultation," it said, the Department of Advanced Education had consulted only a single University of Alberta Department about the reorganization of postsecondary education—the very Department of Educational Administration where Dr. Worth had once taught—and the Department of Advanced Education tended to consult only with "a rather narrow circle of civil servants in Edmonton" (University of Calgary 1973).

While the Government received this and other complaints from the University of Calgary in the first half of 1973, the other universities seem not to have made vigorous protests; the University of Calgary's attacks on the University of Alberta cannot have helped win that university over as an ally. A united attack by the universities on the plans for reorganization was certainly absent in the entire period 1971-73; "there were no rallies and no marches" (Foster 1982).

Perhaps the Government felt satisfied in 1973: a substantial reorganization of postsecondary education had been achieved with a minimum of controversy. The Government's tactics were cleverly planned, as it had used various means to announce its proposals, then moved ahead with them steadily, winning the support of one group of stakeholders at a time. As responses to the Worth Report showed, there was no consistent or organized reaction against the proposed changes, while there was much support for them from the general public. If institutions disliked the new arrangements, they had only themselves to blame.

CONTINUING ISSUES IN COORDINATION

Although in some ways the creation of the Department of Advanced Education marked a new era in postsecondary education in Alberta, its importance can be exaggerated. The transition to Departmental coordination did not result in immediate solution of long-standing problems. In this section a group of continuing issues is examined in order to demonstrate how such issues were dealt with by the new Department. None is examined exhaustively, and no attempt is made to follow issues beyond 1973.

Vocational and Technical Education

One of Mr. Foster's early concerns was to break down the barriers between institutions and integrate sectors of postsecondary education. On February 25, 1972 he wrote to Dr. Rees, then Deputy Minister of the Department of Advanced Education:

> As you know, I am coming to the conclusion that the Department in future should not be involved directly in the operation or administration of any educational institution. That, therefore, assumes that the present institutions for which we have responsibility will become independent, operating individually, for example NAIT and SAIT, and others perhaps as part of existing or perhaps even new colleges in this province.
>
> . . . I would further appreciate members of this Department considering drafting proposed legislation specifically as it relates to both NAIT and SAIT becoming independent institutions. . . . (Letter in Colleges Commission materials in the Department of Advanced Education and Manpower)

The amalgamation of Mount Royal College with the vocational centre in Calgary was pending at the time of the election but became bogged down over discussions about salaries and conditions for AVC staff transferring to the proposed new institution. As Mr. Mitchell pointed out, these discussions had ramifications for staff at the institutes of technology, as well as for the other vocational centres, for the amalgamation in Calgary was to have been a pilot merger for all the vocational centres. Its failure meant that all such proposed mergers lapsed. Resistance to changes in the status of the technical and vocational institutions seemed to be increasing, and the Minister let the matter rest (Foster 1982; minutes and files on vocational education in the Department of Advanced Education and Manpower). One suggestion was that this was a decision pro tempore, pending consideration of a larger amalgamation of some kind (Mitchell 1982).

The Agricultural and Vocational Colleges

The status of the agricultural and vocational colleges was another long-standing issue in postsecondary education in Alberta. The colleges continued as separate institutions, though after 1971 they were administered within the Department of Advanced Education. Perhaps their continued separate existence, despite proposals for amalgamation, was fortuitous; perhaps it was due in part to resistance to change by farmers and Members of the Legislature. Neither they nor the technical and vocational institutions were given boards of governors, partly because concern about the effectiveness of boards was raised by the Red Deer crisis (Birdsall 1975:22; Foster 1982).

Athabasca University

Athabasca University was in a perilous position when the new Government came to power, as its staff realized only too well. It had been created to take the pressure of enrolments off other universities and to investigate new methods of learning at post-secondary level, but as enrolments were slackening off, the new institution was virtually redundant. The Government considered abolishing it: it had often stated its concern for rising costs and spoken of the need for eliminating unnecessary duplication. However, the University was allowed to survive. An Order in Council was passed on December 20, 1972, authorizing the University's Interim Governing Authority to begin a pilot project to investigate learning systems and study new methods of presenting a baccaulaureate degree in the arts and sciences (Small 1979:136). The Government removed perceived political appointees from the Interim Governing Authority but allowed Dr. Byrne to remain as President. By late 1972 Dr. Byrne had proved his worth to the Minister for Advanced Education by virtue of his skillful handling of the Red Deer investigation. In a very difficult situation for the new institution, the President's role in ensuring its survival was a key one.

The Transfer Issue

The question of transfer among institutions had been raised by the Worth Report and Master Plan Number One. Essentially, both endorsed the position that the sending institution ought to be able to recommend that a student be granted advanced standing up to the level the sending institute deemed appropriate (Bosetti 1972:106; Worth 1972:142). The Government fully accepted the force of the argument that better transferability was necessary, and the matter was something of a personal concern for Mr. Foster (Foster 1982). The recruitment of Dr. Worth, Dr. Fast, Dr. Kolesar and others into the new Department seemed to suggest that the matter might be solved expeditiously. In a paper released in November, 1973 the Department issued a Coordination Policy which promised to erect some kind of Articulation Council, representative of all institutions, to resolve the issue (Long 1979:149).

Thus by 1973 a solution to the problem had been foreshadowed. But the problem dragged on far beyond 1973 and the eventual creation of an Alberta Council on Admissions and Transfers in 1974 seems not to have ended bickering among institutions about transferability.

Mr. Foster remarked that substantially, the problem has not yet been solved to his satisfaction (Foster 1982).

The Faculty of Law at Calgary

The question of a Faculty of Law at the University of Calgary arose at the end of the University Commission's life. Mr. Erickson, Commission Chairman in September and October, 1971, was sympathetic to the proposal to establish the Faculty, but the Commission as a whole was not; this latter position was supported by Mr. Foster (Commission Minutes, October 26, 1972; Foster 1982).

However, the demand for the Faculty arose in earnest in 1972. Members of the Legislature from Calgary repeatedly badgered Mr. Foster about the matter and the Minister showed signs of weakening under this concerted attack. The matter next arose in Caucus and on October 24, 1973 Mr. Foster said the Government was willing to establish the Faculty. Arguments about supply and demand—the manpower arguments often stressed by the new Government—had wilted in the face of political pressure, and the Government was simply not willing to stand up to Members and to established interests in Calgary and deny them the prestige of a law faculty. In an interview Mr. Foster admitted that the decision was "a step backwards" (Foster 1982).

This small selection of issues suggests that the transition to Departmental coordination did not mean an automatic improvement in the rationality of decisions. The new arrangement was perhaps a necessary step towards more rational decision-making, but not by itself sufficient to guarantee it. The Faculty of Law issue above all demonstrated that political pressure groups and lobbyists were alive and functioning in the new system, while other opportunities to abolish apparently unnecessary institutions or to make desired amalgamations had been passed by.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has explained how an ailing Social Credit Government was replaced in 1971 by a more business-oriented Conservative Government. The new Government stressed small and efficient government in its public statements, and declared that Ministers needed to be more clearly responsible for spending in postsecondary education. For these (and possibly other) reasons, the Government decided to abolish the two commissions. This decision was being contemplated by the Government when it first came into office, and lack of resistance encouraged the Government to press ahead with a complete reorganization of the administration of postsecondary education. The Worth Report was one of the ways in which the Government signalled its intentions and tested their acceptability, but the Report's recommendation that the commissions be abolished was not critical in the transition.

In moving toward its goals, the Government pacified stakeholder groups to smooth the way toward desired changes. The institutes and the vocational centres were largely left alone and were given good representation in the new Department of Advanced Education. The public colleges, which initially were opposed to the change, were reconciled to it when they saw that Colleges Commission staff were well placed in the new Department. The universities fared worst in the transition but even they were given three year funding to sweeten the bitter pill of being absorbed into a provincial system of administration. The success of this transition owed much to the skill and determination of Messrs. Foster, Worth, and Kolesar.

The transition resulted in a new balance of power, with the Minister (and a new Department loyal to him) far more powerful than before. The public colleges, too, seemed in a stronger position, while the universities had lost their earlier freedom to make inter-institutional arrangements and lost the predominant position they had had in the 1960s. Some of these developments were probably inevitable, given expansion and growth in the system; others were a direct result of the actions of the Government. For the moment, then, the universities seemed somewhat defeated, but in different circumstances they might be able to challenge the Minister and the Department successfully.

Chapter 7

ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

In this chapter the conceptual framework of the dissertation is re-stated and analyzed and applied to the particular instances of the case discussed in the previous three chapters. Some particular aspects of the data are discussed in some depth. These are:

1. The roles and accomplishments of the Alberta Colleges Commission and the Universities Commission;

2. The 1971 provincial election as a significant precursor of change in the governance of postsecondary education;

3. The roles played by "in-groups" before and after the reorganization of postsecondary education which followed the election;

4. Reasons for the growth of control over postsecondary education in Alberta.

The chapter ends with a summary of major points made and a brief discussion of the conceptual framework.

THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Essentially, the conceptual framework of the dissertation can be stated as a series of generalizations about the governance of postsecondary education. These are as follows:

1. Institutions are created by governments for various educational and political reasons. One strong influence in the creation of institutions is the force of regional rivalries and

political conflicts. As a result, a state or province tends to accumulate a number of institutions in a semi-random fashion.

2. There is a natural "pecking order" among postsecondary institutions. At its peak is the old-established provincial or state university, sometimes closely followed by other universities. Such institutions jealously guard their privileges and can be expected to resist attempts to reduce them. Community colleges tend to be at the bottom of the "pecking order."

3. Control by governments of postsecondary education has increased since the 1960s according to a number of recognizable steps. In the beginning, institutions are allowed to make their own arrangements for the governance of postsecondary education, often in cooperation with government. A buffer agency is commonly used in the intermediate stages of control. In the third stage, tighter control over institutions is imposed, and attempts are made to establish more sense of system in postsecondary education. Factors associated with the growth of control are urbanization, industrialization, growth in the number of institutions and student radicalism.

4. Significant elections and electoral realignments frequently precede major changes in the governance of postsecondary education. Such changes may include a redistribution of power among institutions, or a wholesale reorganization of educational governance.

5. Educational decision-making tends to be dominated by an "in-group" of professionals who remain in control of decision-making most of the time, although a new government may attempt to dislodge such groups from positions of power.

6. The conventional wisdom on coordination is that it is best exercised by a strong coordinating agency with an experienced chairman (who is an educational professional) and a well-qualified staff. The agency should not be dominated by any institution or group of institutions.

7. Agencies are often used by government as instruments of coordination of postsecondary education. They are of three main types, although these are not discrete categories:

a. voluntary agencies formed by institutions themselves to parcel out programs and make cooperative arrangements;

b. buffer agencies, which are semi-autonomous bodies possessing advisory and executive powers;

c. central coordinating agencies established by governments to cut down on waste and needless duplication. They have executive powers over institutional programs and often use a master plan to lay out the essentials of province-wide provision for postsecondary education.

THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND ITS APPLICATION TO THE CASE

The conceptual framework describes three elements in the governance of postsecondary education. These elements are, first, a state or provincial government; second, an agency of coordination; third, the various institutions of postsecondary education in the state or province under discussion. The framework stresses the relationship among these elements, which is critical to any discussion of the governance of postsecondary education. One key concept in the framework is that broadly speaking, the initiative lies with government, which can establish institutions and lay out the terms of their existence; similarly, the government creates agencies of coordination if it sees fit to do so and can restructure them. Some limitations on the role of governments over postsecondary education were noted in the review of the literature.

The conceptual framework has been derived from the literature on coordination and on the politics of postsecondary education. This literature is in part from the United States, in part from the United Kingdom, and in part from Canada. Thus one immediate question arises: does the framework apply to the politics of postsecondary education in Alberta? In general, it was found that the framework applied very closely to the case described. The detailed analysis of the case demonstrates this.

POLITICAL PRESSURES AND THE GROWTH OF INSTITUTIONS

According to the conceptual framework of this dissertation, postsecondary institutions are created by governments for a number of reasons, frequently for political ends. Glenny made the following comment about a typical pattern in the emergence of institutions:

> The complexity of publicly supported higher education coincides with the development of modern industrialization. Most states first established a state university. Then, as a result of the Morrill Act of 1862, a number of states created separate land-grant colleges to teach agriculture and mechanical arts. . . . Normal schools and teachers colleges were added in response to the needs of public school systems. Schools of mining and technology and military institutes were created. Legislatures often failed to define clearly the functions of each institution or to conceive of its unique purpose in a state-wide system. Many colleges were created to

> satisfy the ambitions of politicians, with little regard for the cost or for the needs of the state. The successful politician proved his merit by bringing home an insane asylum, a prison, or a college. Frequently it made little difference which. (1959:12-13)

This comment applies strongly to the case under discussion. Alberta founded a provincial university as one of the first acts of the new Legislature, and continued by adding institutes of technology, agricultural colleges and normal schools; the addition of junior colleges in the 1950s could be seen as the last step in the creation of new types of institutions. Some developments happened partly by chance, as did the creation of a Provincial Institute of Technology and Art after demands were made by Calgarians for a university. Other developments followed rising and falling economic circumstances in the province: institutions opened and closed in the years between the two world wars with little regard to educational needs. Many institutions—notably the college and the university at Lethbridge—were created because of the effectiveness of local pressure groups. The fact that the most dramatic developments in the governance of postsecondary education occurred in 1966-73, after the economic development associated with continuing postwar expansion and the oil boom, also fits in well with Glenny's assessment of the general pattern of developments in postsecondary education.

Rivalries among cities and regions were discussed in the conceptual framework as a significant element in the politics of postsecondary education. Politics in Alberta often illustrate an Edmonton-Calgary polarity which arises from the competition between the province's principal urban centres for dominance. The effect this has on postsecondary education is clear. In the first months of the province's existence, Dr. Rutherford, the first Premier, and an Edmontonian, succeeded in making that city both the provincial capital and the seat of the province's sole university—much to the chagrin of Calgarians. Their agitation for a university in their city over the ensuing years frequently took on an anti-Edmonton tone. Even now, some of those in the University of Calgary refer to "the University of Edmonton" to denigrate the province's oldest university. Others in educational circles in Edmonton referred in interviews and conversations to a "Calgary syndrome" (perhaps more accurately described as a Calgary complex) in attempting to describe Calgarians' supposed insecurities about themselves and their University. Many of the issues and controversies discussed in earlier chapters revolve about such feelings; the arguments about autonomy for the "University of Alberta at Calgary" is a case in point. Another is the long and bitter debate about the Faculty of Environmental Design discussed in Chapter 4. Finally, the *pro-Calgary* speeches made by Calgary legislators about the proposed Faculty of Law for the city's university showed that essentially the matter had more to do with the status and aspirations of the city than it did to do with students' needs. This interprovincial rivalry runs through the history of postsecondary education like a *leit-motif* and appears to be a permanent part of the politics of postsecondary education in Alberta.

THE "PECKING ORDER" IN POSTSECONDARY EDUCATION

A common pattern in postsecondary education is a "pecking order" of institutions. Alberta's "pecking order" seems to begin with the universities, then come the institutes of technology, with other institutions at the bottom. The easiest institution to categorize in this regard is the University of Alberta, "the oldest, largest, and in most fields still the leading university in the province" (Leslie 1980:80). The University was until 1966 the only university in Alberta and took on from its first years the character of a prestigious institution.

Glenny noted that an institution's power varied according to its prestige, its age, the number and quality of its alumni, and its political support and leadership (1959:251). A comparison could be made on this basis between the universities and junior/public colleges in Alberta. The universities tended to be more prestigious than the colleges, and resisted changes in their governance very successfully: in particular, the senior university enjoyed a period of salutary neglect by government until 1966. On the other hand, the colleges had to struggle to survive and had difficulty in defending their interests against other institutions.

Glenny further noted that the elite institutions were losing the battle to maintain their position in the states he visited (1959:103). The Colleges Commission certainly succeeded in raising the status of the public colleges, to the point at which colleges and universities existed as nominal fellow institutions in the 1973 system of postsecondary education in Alberta. However, it seems clear that this was a relative change and that the province had retained its pecking order: the University of Alberta still has the bulk of doctoral programs in the province, for example, while no colleges yet grant degrees.

According to Berdahl et al., the most prestigious institution in a region often resisted coordination, for it tended to see itself as international in perspective, and did not wish to submit to state or provincial constraints (1971:259). This precisely describes the University of Alberta, which is proud of its international reputation and resists being treated as part of any group of institutions. As its present President has declared:

> We are different from the other three universities. We are unique. We are special. . . . As the oldest, largest and most complex university in this province we face particular problems. (Horowitz 1981:4)

In the period under particular study in this dissertation (1966-73) the University proved one of the institutions least amenable to coordination by an agency. Its resistance can be largely explained by its consciousness of its special qualities, as suggested here; it can also be explained by its history, for prior to 1966 what coordination was done in postsecondary education was done by the University itself in concert with the Government. As a result the University still has a tendency to see itself, in Leslie's words, as "the flagship institution" (1980:82); the implied comparison with the University of California at Berkeley is an appropriate one.

In the period studied, all the newer universities were jealous of the dominant position of the University of Alberta. One illuminating comment from a former President of the University of Lethbridge explains that institution's role in helping the University of Calgary gain the disputed School of Environmental Design:

> The grounds were, first, educational, i.e. Calgary had all that was necessary for a good program; second, self-serving, i.e., to establish that everything didn't automatically go to the University of Alberta allowing something possibly to come to Lethbridge in the future; and third, a bit of spite, i.e., the University of Alberta was so cocksure, and even patronizing, that an opportunity to put it down couldn't be resisted. (Letter, January 14, 1982)

One significant aspect of the jealousy among the province's universities is that it spilled over into their relationships with the Universities Commission and Coordinating Council. Thus one reason for the University of Lethbridge's resistance to coordination by the Commission was its perception that the agency was dominated by the University of Alberta.

In this way the concept of a "pecking order" seems clearly important in postsecondary education in Alberta. Those institutions—the universities—at the top of the "pecking order" were most resistant to coordination in the years studied, the University of Alberta pre-eminently so.

THE GROWTH IN CONTROL OF POSTSECONDARY EDUCATION

It is plain that Alberta moved from a scheme of voluntary control (essentially by the University of Alberta) before 1966 to a system of control by government departments and buffer agencies after 1969. The reorganized Department of Advanced Education seems to be an example of the third stage discussed in the framework. In regard to such changes, Fisher et al. aptly summed up developments in the governance of postsecondary education in Canada in the 1970s:

> [Most provinces were implementing] decisions to provide for greater central control of academic program planning. . . . either directly under the responsibility of the relevant minister or through some buffer agency. (1981:39)

The pattern across Canada demonstrates clearly that there was a movement at this time towards the establishment of new controlling agencies; Alberta fits comfortably into this pattern (see Table 1).

In addition, most of the developments which seem commonly to impel tightening control of postsecondary education seem to have been present in Alberta in the period under study. First, urbanization and industrialization: it seems clear that these preceded the growth of control over postsecondary education, as a discussion of the economic climate of the 1971 election indicated in the preceding chapter. Second, the growth of universities and of public colleges in the period before the 1971-73 changes in control confirms the link between institutional growth and increased control found in the conceptual framework. Third, economic stringency, which is a common development before control is tightened, was in evidence at least to a relative degree in 1971 in Alberta. Fourth, some writers note the importance of a manpower orientation to government prior to its increasing control: this attitude seems clear in the new Conservative Government after 1971. In these respects, the case under discussion is entirely applicable to the conceptual framework.

One significant exception concerns student radicalism. This has long been seen by writers, particularly in the United States, as contributing to a tightening of control in postsecondary education. But the very minor degree of student radicalism described by Dr. Johns at the University of Alberta seems inconsiderable when compared to the

Table 1

Canada: Establishment of New Coordinating Agencies, 1964-72

1964	Ontario	Department of University Affairs
1965	Quebec	Directorate of Higher Education
1967	British Columbia	Division of Postsecondary Services
1968	Saskatchewan	Branch of Applied Arts and Sciences
1971	Manitoba	Department of Colleges and Universities Affairs
1972	Alberta	Department of Advanced Education
1972	Ontario	Department of Colleges and Universities
1972	Saskatchewan	Department of Continuing Education

Source: David N. Munroe, The Organization and Administration of Education in Canada, cited in Clarke 1975:30.

massed rallies and demonstrations which occurred at the University of California at Berkeley, for instance, where eight hundred demonstrators were arrested in a "sit-in" in 1965 (Johns 1981:402).

With this significant exception, and the reservations noted above in regard to economic conditions, Alberta appears to be a typical case of developments in postsecondary governance in North America in the 1960s and 1970s.

The Growth of System

Did the election and the reorganization lead to a growth of system in postsecondary education in Alberta? The question of system is one which needs careful discussion in this context. A system of education was defined in Chapter 2 as consisting of three interdependent elements: a government department or division responsible for policy formulation, a coordinating agency—if there is one—and institutions which are coordinated. Was it true that as government control of postsecondary education increased after 1971, there was an increasing degree of system?

A comparison of the governance of postsecondary education in early 1971 and after 1973 seems the easiest way of answering this question. There were strong relationships between institutions in 1971, notably between the universities and the public colleges, but it seems misleading to talk about any system of postsecondary education in the province at this time. Rather, there were groupings consisting of the universities, the public colleges, the agricultural and vocational colleges, and the technical and vocational institutions. Each was dependent—to various degrees—on a government department or buffer agency for finances and program approval. There were, of course, very significant differences within these groups, for example between each institute of technology, and between the institutes and the vocational centres. In contrast, there were the beginnings of a recognizable system of postsecondary education after 1973. From that time, each institution was subject to coordination by the Department of Advanced Education and, after 1974, had to submit proposals to it in order to have programs approved. Thus it does seem reasonable for those in the Department to talk of an "Advanced Education System" after 1973, with universities, colleges, and vocational and technical subsystems (Clarke, discussion paper on program coordination, 1973, in the archives of the Department of Advanced Education and Manpower).

This point was not lost on the University of Calgary, which protested in 1973 that the Programs Division established in the reorganized Department "cuts right across the jurisdiction of the General Faculties Councils at the Universities" and that a "monolithic system" would be the result. The University regretted that it was in danger of losing its unique role by being thrust into a provincial system of program allocation and approval, and complained that its autonomy was under attack (University of Calgary, 1973). It is difficult to deny that, indeed, the universities were being made part of a provincial system of postsecondary education.

AN ELECTION AS A PRECURSOR OF CHANGE

The conceptual framework suggests that a significant election is commonly the precursor of a reorganization in postsecondary education.

Some elementary electoral analysis made in the preceding chapter suggested that a very significant electoral realignment over the period 1967-75 redistributed support to the Conservatives from other political parties in Alberta. What followed was the establishment of a new Department of Advanced Education, the reshuffling and occasional termination of employment of civil servants, and the relative rise of some groups of institutions (particularly the public colleges) at the expense of others (such as the universities).

Dressel and Faricy noted a pattern wherein a reorganization such as the one in question led to the redistribution of some power from academics and elite institutions to governments and to laymen (1972:180f). The difference in structures before 1972 and after 1973 illustrates this trend. Whereas academics were strongly represented on coordinating structures (particularly on the Universities Coordinating Council) before 1972, the reorganization of postsecondary education shifted power to some extent to the Minister and the new Department. Further, the Minister created six committees of advice in a declared attempt to obtain more lay participation in decision-making in postsecondary education (Alberta Hansard, April 2, 1973).

A key issue needs discussion here. Were the changes inevitable under any government, or did the election help to make them possible? This question is not easy to answer. While Mr. Robert Clark, Minister for Education in the Social Credit Government, had considered making a reorganization (and had begun to feel that a "supercommission" might be appropriate) he did not do so. One can only speculate about his chances of successfully establishing such a body. Certainly the fact that the new Government moved in its first eighteen months to make the reorganization of postsecondary education it thought appropriate helped it to succeed in a complex and somewhat perilous task. Its success in doing so seems attributable largely, too, to the enthusiasm and dedication of a young, dynamic Minister and of an energetic new Department, capitalizing on a favourable climate for change. In addition, institutions failed to rally together to avoid the changes.

One story which seems illustrative of the "triggering" role of the election concerns the agricultural and vocational colleges. These institutions had long existed within the Department of Agriculture despite frequent suggestions that they be brought into the public college system. No progress was made towards this goal until directly after the 1971 election, when the new Department was being set up. Mr. Mitchell suggested that the colleges should be brought into the Department forthwith, as the time was right for it (Mitchell 1982). This move was to enable the agricultural and vocational colleges to take their place among the public colleges some years later.

Thus it appears that the 1971 election, by bringing into power a government with a different philosophy from its predecessor, and creating a favourable climate for change, facilitated the reorganization of postsecondary education which followed in the next eighteen months. Other considerations related to the election appear below.

THE ROLE OF EDUCATIONAL "IN-GROUPS"

The conceptual framework stated that a period of political change often resulted in a redistribution of power among educational groups. This pattern appears in the case studied. The group with most power before the election seems to have been university academics; certainly academics were able to influence the coordination of university education to a remarkable degree, provided they did not oppose one another or compete for the same programs. After the election, the dominant group seemed to be the "professionals" who held key positions in the reorganized Department of Advanced Education (these are described very closely by Glenny 1976:83). Whereas these had been in control of the public colleges sector in 1969, this represented only a small grouping within the province's postsecondary institutions. The election, and subsequent redistribution of power in postsecondary education, allowed this group to move into a position of considerable dominance over the whole of postsecondary education because of the group's position in the new Department.

The reasons for this development were many and complex. First, these "professionals" were more visible and more obviously productive than other groups (such as that in the Universities Commission). They published a good deal of material relevant to the Government's expressed interest in rationalizing control of postsecondary education; other groups published little of such material. Second, they were able to move close to the Minister because of the Red Deer crisis. Third, a number of other groups seemed not to challenge the "professionals" for dominance in the new Department.

Members of the Universities Commission were in some cases close to retirement; others were judged as not suited to the positions available. The leaders of the technical and vocational sector were on the whole more concerned with day-to-day administration than long-term or system needs, while the most senior administrator in this sector, Mr. Mitchell, was again close to retirement.

In response to a question asked by the researcher, Dr. Mowat, a former Chairman of the Department of Educational Administration at the University of Alberta, and a former Chairman of the Provincial Board of Postsecondary Education, made these comments on the question of the "professionals" and the Department's contribution to their careers:

> Question:
>
> It's curious how many people seem to have gone down the same career path in Alberta, especially through this Department. Why was this?
>
> Response:
>
> With the exception of the larger cities in Alberta, superintendents of schools were employed and placed by the provincial Department of Education. Thus, they had positions in the civil service, within which there was scope for upward mobility, strengthened by a tradition of filling positions from within. Normally, then, some of the same persons 'showed up,' over a period of time, in a series of offices and events.
>
> [In addition,] earlier requirements for appointment to administrative positions were modest in comparison with present requirements. The records show that a bachelor's degree was the usual minimal level of education required for appointment to the superintendency—which constituted the larger pool of persons from which 'upper' positions were filled. ('Upper' included a number of positions in all sections of the provincial Department of Education, such as curriculum, registrar, field services, supervision, examinations, etc.).
>
> Several factors impinged upon the factors above to produce the consequence central to your question. They were:

1. In the '50's and '60's, and earlier, there was, relatively, a small number of provincial employees and other educators in the public education sector, who possessed doctors' degrees.

2. The population began to grow rapidly (particularly that of school age) and the demand for higher education also increased greatly. The number of positions in educational administration increased correspondingly.

3. Employers (the provincial government, larger school systems, and even the smaller systems in relation to the principalship, for example) began to view higher qualifications as being desirable in employees.

4. The need for graduate education for administrators became clear. The first fully fledged program in Educational Administration was initiated at the University of Alberta with the active moral support of the Canadian Education Association and financial support from the Kellogg Foundation. Educators from across Canada came [here] to gain masters and doctoral degrees. Particularly in the first decade of the program's existence, applicants were people who were employed in administrative positions and had already been identified as having promotional potential in their various systems. They returned to their systems (including those in Alberta) and did move 'up.'

5. The program at the University of Alberta was not only the only program available for years, but it also developed a good reputation. It drew students who already had important administrative positions. Add this to the non-existence of other programs, for years, and it becomes obvious that many present-day officials in education come from [this Department].

6. It may be worth noting that one 'mobility path' in education was, in earlier times, from the provincial government to the Faculty of Education at the University of Alberta. Relations were excellent during and for some time after 'the path was being travelled.' Officials in the Government and those in the Faculty knew each other, had worked together earlier, and presumably respected each other's judgments. Under such circumstances the Government sent selected employees to the University for training. It was also easy for the Department of Educational Administration here to 'place' graduates.

The foregoing constitutes reflection upon circumstances that might have, and probably did, have a bearing on the situation noted in your question. They do not provide a basis for judging whether the situation was (or is) good or bad. Personally, I have challenged critics to convince me that 'better men are, or were, waiting in the wings.'

The role of the professional educational administrators has frequently been given attention in this study. The question is clearly a significant one and will be given further consideration in the final chapter.

AGENCIES OF COORDINATION IN ALBERTA

In this section, an attempt is made to apply the conceptual framework to the agencies of coordination used in Alberta in the period studied. The conceptual framework discussed three main types of agencies: voluntary agencies, buffer bodies, and central agencies of coordination.

The Universities Commission is a difficult agency to categorize. It was essentially a "buffer agency" on the model of similar agencies in the United Kingdom and elsewhere, but its independence from government is difficult to assess, as there is no clear-cut case of a confrontation between it and government. The Commission worked together with the Universities Coordinating Council, which was composed of institutional nominees and mostly defended the interests of particular universities, rather than looking to the needs of university education in the province. One is reminded of the comment cited in Berdahl et al. on an agency in California: "a voluntary system with a fig leaf, operating essentially to negotiate bargains among thieves" (Berdahl et al. 1971:32). Further, Glenny said that in a voluntary system, a hierarchy of institutions operated largely unimpeded by concerns of system (1959:251). The Universities Commission failed to avoid domination by the largest university, while the other universities had to struggle for programs, often by going "behind the

Commission's back." In this way the governance of the universities seems to have been a semi-voluntary system, in Berdahl et al. terms, although the Commission itself was a buffer agency.

The Colleges Commission seems to be a clear example of a buffer agency which became strong enough to have some independence, being dominated neither by institutions nor by government. With one Chairman during its lifetime (1968-73) and a professional, well-qualified staff, the Commission had continuity and considerable status. Its role with regard to institutions was closer and probably clearer than was that of the Universities Commission: it was respected and valued by the colleges in its care, and did not suffer the humiliation of having institutions repeatedly going "behind its back" to the Government. In part this had to do with the greater power and prestige of the universities as against the public colleges, but it also suggests that the Colleges Commission was simply a more effective intermediary between government and institutions, and was able to avoid becoming an apologist for either.

The Department of Advanced Education as reorganized in 1973 appears to be a fairly clear example of a central coordinating agency, or, in Fisher's terminology, of partial state control (Fisher et al. 1981:36). Unlike the buffer bodies which preceded it, the Department was directly under the supervision of a Minister. It exercised executive powers over programs and finances for all institutions in postsecondary education (excluding private institutions). The greater degree of system in the reorganized scheme suggests that some movement had taken place towards greater control by government of individual institutions.

These three bodies, then, represent aspects of what appear to be ideal types of coordinating agencies. It seems likely that it will never be easy to match such types perfectly with individual examples, and the question of independence from government is merely one of the critical considerations relevant to a discussion of agencies.

A COMPARISON OF THE COMMISSIONS

How do the two commissions discussed in Chapters 4 and 5 compare, and how do they match up with the conventional wisdom on coordinating agencies? For convenience, the comparison has been made under a number of headings.

Personnel

The commissions' personnel were dissimilar in many respects. The chairmen of the commissions show one of the clearest contrasts. The Colleges Commission had one Chairman, who was a professional educator and managed to keep clear of party politics. The record of the Universities Commission chairmen is uneven. The first Chairman was a professional educator who seems to have had the experience and standing necessary to make the agency work. Unfortunately, as the problems of coordinating the universities grew more difficult, the Commission's chairmen became more controversial and were challenged as representing one university, or political party, to the detriment of sound and impartial administration acceptable to the universities.

A comparison between the commission's boards is not possible, as detailed minutes are available only for the Universities Commission's meetings. These minutes suggest that the members of the Commission's board were of very limited use in coordinating postsecondary education, and mainly endorsed decisions made by staff and chairmen.

The commissions' staffs seem to have been dissimilar. The Universities Commission's staff was small, and apart from some men with expertise in economic matters and academic programs, staff had limited experience and few formal qualifications in administration. On the other hand, the Colleges Commission had a core of well-experienced staff with formal qualifications in educational administration; they tended to be younger than Universities Commission staff and seemed less afraid of offending institutional heads. In sum, the commissions differed significantly; this point appears to be linked with overall judgements of the two bodies.

Circumstances

The circumstances in which each body was created and in which it operated were also different, although each was superimposed on institutions already in existence. Probably the Universities Commission had a built-in disadvantage in that it had to parcel out programs among institutions which were grossly incomparable in size and status; it was well-nigh inevitable that the time would come when newer universities would challenge the University of Alberta for prestigious programs, making coordination among the universities difficult.

Another critical difference was that while the Colleges Commission was a single coordinating body, the Universities Commission had to work with the Universities Coordinating Council. This system was cumbersome, as the relationship between the two bodies was at best aloof and uncommunicative, while at worst it was filled with mistrust, hostility and vindictiveness, particularly during and immediately after the controversy over the Environmental Design program at Calgary.

Output

What was the product or output of each commission? Beckman abstracted from the literature on coordination six activities normally performed by coordinating agencies: (1) budget review and resource allocation; (2) development of new programs; (3) changing old programs; (4) implementing newly-developed plans; (5) preparing information for policy-makers; and (6) coordinating the work of institutions (1973:61).

Each commission performed the first task. Second, some program development also seems to have been done by each, although the Universities Commission was anxious not to become involved with the details of what was taught and how it was taught. The Colleges Commission was less afraid of directing institutions as to what should be taught, and on some occasions surveyed provincial needs in regard to what programs were required and where they ought to be provided. In the fourth area, planning, it is difficult to make a quick comparison meaningfully. Neither commission decided when and where new institutions would be opened, as this decision was made by the Government. There is a clear contrast, however, in the success achieved by the commissions in regard to drawing up a master plan, as has been discussed in earlier chapters. Regarding the fifth task, the Colleges

Commission seems increasingly to have prepared information for Government, particularly during the Red Deer crisis and the reorganization of the Department of Advanced Education. Finally, in coordinating institutions, the Colleges Commission seems to have had more success in defining institutional roles and to have worked towards rationalizing programs. Although the Universities Commission became increasingly conscious of the need for developing a sense of system in university education, it did not progress very far towards it. In sum, the Colleges Commission—in part because it had an easier task to do—seems to have done more in most areas than did the Universities Commission.

Relationship to Institutions

The contrast between the commissions' relationships to their respective institutions is clearest of all. The universities seem at best to have tolerated the Universities Commission, and at worst to have regarded it as a nuisance which impeded their communication with the Government. One former staff member of the Commission commented in a letter to the researcher:

> I think I would characterize the cooperation of the universities as unenthusiastic rather than unwilling. . . . in many instances the universities didn't see any particular advantages or need for cooperation and perhaps the Commission itself wasn't always sure of or able to explain the advantages or need of so-called "rationalization." (Letter, January 26, 1982)

This statement says a great deal about the cautious attitude of the Universities Commission towards the universities and its reluctance to go very far towards "so-called 'rationalization.'" The same person made a significant point about the difference in autonomy between institutions:

> In comparing the effectiveness of the Universities Commission and the Colleges' [sic] Commission it must be remembered that the universities had a long tradition of autonomy and not having to report to or be dependent on an intermediary body between them and the government. The colleges generally were much newer and did not have a tradition of autonomy and defining their own tasks and responsibilities.
>
> The Universities Commission did not presume to order or direct the universities but rather attempted to obtain agreement and to aid in a comparative coordination of the universities' activities. It is my impression that the colleges expected and accepted a much higher degree of direction and planning of their activities than did the universities. (Letter, January 26, 1982, emphasis added)

This statement is useful in highlighting some key differences between the two agencies. To a very great extent the Universities Commission was limited by (1) the fact that it was dealing with universities, which the Commission was fearful of antagonizing; (2) the towering status of the University of Alberta, with which the Commission had an awkward and essentially undefined relationship. The Commission's practice of seconding staff from the University did nothing to help the agency establish its independence from that institution; there was always some implicit understanding that the University had been gracious enough to submit to some procedural approval of its proposals, but that the Commission would not encroach on the University's autonomy. The contradiction here made the relationship unsatisfactory almost from the start, and it grew more so. Consequently, the University of Alberta grew increasingly restive under the Commission, and made little attempt to defend it when its abolition was suggested.

In contrast—as noted by the staff member in the quotation above—the public colleges began as junior colleges subservient to the universities, as well as to other bodies. They seem to have looked on the Colleges Commission as a necessary, and on the whole desirable, agency, perhaps as the instrument which would assist them to increase their status, and they defended the Commission when it was under attack. The difference between the status and history of the public colleges and the universities, therefore, had great significance for the commissions which served them.

Assessment of the Commissions

Overwhelmingly, the Colleges Commission was judged by interview respondents to have been more successful than was its fellow commission. Respondents frequently commented on the energy, political skill, publication production, and youth of the "Young Turks" or "ed. admin. types" on the Colleges Commission. Former Universities Commission staff who were interviewed admitted the success of the Colleges Commission, sometimes ruefully, sometimes angrily, for many of them felt betrayed by the universities who failed to defend them until it was too late. One former staff member of the Universities Commission, asked to nominate areas of the Commission's success and failure, admitted that it had failed to "sell itself" to the Government. The only respondent who vigorously defended the Universities Commission was Mr. Clark, formerly Minister of Education, who pointed out that, in its time, the beginnings of a university system had been laid down.

One note of warning should be sounded regarding the commissions. Given that so few of the Universities Commission staff were in general better placed in the new scheme of things than they had been in the old, there may be a danger of making an ex post facto judgement on the Universities Commission. The difficulty is heightened for this researcher by the far greater reluctance of former University Commission staff than of Colleges Commission staff to give information and to make forthright comments to him.

Even so, it is impossible not to come to the conclusion that the Colleges Commission performed its tasks better than did the Universities Commission; it was certainly perceived as doing so by the new Government. The Universities Commission's main success was—as Mr. Clark suggested—in beginning to establish a sense of system in a province which had had one prestigious university for sixty years. The difficult task of coordinating a group of extremely dissimilar universities, and the particularly awkward relationship between the Commission and the senior university, greatly impeded the Commission's ability to do its tasks; these difficulties are very common in the literature on coordination (Glenny 1959:251f).

The success of the Colleges Commission lay primarily in raising the status of the public colleges (to the point at which they could feel reasonably confident of surviving in a province-wide system of coordination) and in forming strong relationships with institutions and with governments. No doubt one very considerable factor in the Colleges Commission's success was the readiness of the public colleges to accept advice and direction.

Thus any comparison between the commissions must find the Universities Commission lacking. Given the very great differences between the institutions and circumstances concerned, and the difficulties noted in coordinating the universities, perhaps this conclusion should not be surprising.

SUMMARY

In this chapter the conceptual framework was used to analyze the data presented in Chapters 4, 5 and 6.

The conceptual framework proved to be broadly applicable to the case studied. Both the broad trends described in the framework, such as the trend toward tighter control of postsecondary education, and the particular developments contained in it, such as the changing relationships among institutions, were found in the case analysis. The most important aspect of the case which did not fit the framework was student radicalism as a contributing factor in the tightening of control over postsecondary education.

The framework suggested that provinces and states acquire institutions through a mixture of political expediency and planned initiative by governments; in this process regional rivalries play a key role. The case analysis demonstrated that these developments occurred in Alberta, with the rivalry between cities and towns being a key factor in the founding of institutions.

The "pecking order" described in the framework was found to apply very closely to the case studied. The University of Alberta was seen as a clear example of an elite university with national and international perspectives, while the junior colleges seemed to be close to the bottom of the "pecking order."

As the framework suggested, control of postsecondary education increased during the period studied, for the province experienced first, a loose system of coordination based on the University of Alberta, then mixed coordination, including two buffer agencies, and finally a form of tighter coordination.

It seemed that the 1971 provincial election and the electoral redistribution of the period 1967-75 contributed very significantly to the creation of a Department of Advanced Education in 1971 and to the reorganization of postsecondary educational governance which followed it.

The conceptual framework contains a description of an "in-group" or recognizable group of educational professionals. The best such example found in the case analysis was the group of graduates in educational administration who worked for both the Provincial Board of Postsecondary Education and the Colleges Commission, and moved on to become influential in the reorganized Department of Advanced Education.

The case analysis in this chapter supports the conventional wisdom on coordination. Comparison of the two commissions showed that one, generally judged as successful, had the attributes of a strong agency as presented in the literature on coordination, while the other, generally judged as unsuccessful, did not have these qualities. A qualification was noted in that the latter agency was attempting to coordinate universities; this appears to be more difficult than coordinating other institutions.

The agencies in Alberta in the period 1966-73 were discussed and categorized according to the conceptual framework. This allowed them to be categorized, although some difficulties were experienced in labelling the arrangements for the coordination of universities.

Although there was a trend across Canada of tightening control of postsecondary education, the most critical events leading to the reorganization in Alberta in 1971-73 were the accession to power of a new government, the naming of an energetic young Minister to a new portfolio of Advanced Education, and the failure of institutions to rally together to oppose the Government's plans.

The implications of these developments and a summary of the dissertation are considered together with the importance of its conclusions for research and practice in educational administration in the final chapter.

Chapter 8

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In this chapter a summary is presented of the purposes, design and findings of the dissertation. In addition, conclusions suggested by the analysis of data are discussed, and implications for researchers and practitioners in educational administration are drawn. Finally, suggestions are made for future research in the politics of postsecondary education.

SUMMARY

In this study attention was focussed on developments in the governance of postsecondary education in Alberta from 1966 to 1973. The particular problem studied was: what were the factors leading to the establishment of a Department of Advanced Education in Alberta? In order to answer this question, the case study approach was used. A "reputational" method was used to pinpoint important actors in postsecondary education; these were then interviewed, using an elite or nonstandard interviewing technique which largely allowed respondents to tell their own stories about what happened, then probed in order to obtain specific answers.

A conceptual framework was devised from the literature on coordination and on the politics of education in Canada, the United States of America and the United Kingdom. A series of generalizations was obtained and this was then applied to the case under consideration.

It was found that, although there was a movement across Canada towards tighter control of postsecondary education in the early 1970s, the 1971 provincial election and accompanying electoral realignment in Alberta played a triggering role in bringing about change in the governance of postsecondary education in Alberta. It was found that a new Minister for Education began in 1971 with the idea of abolishing the postsecondary commissions, and moved steadily toward this goal throughout the next eighteen months. Although abolition of the commissions was recommended by both the Worth Commission and Master Plan Number One, these were significant because they allowed the Minister to test the idea on the public. In the reorganized Department of Advanced Education, Colleges Commission personnel were well represented, while Universities Commission personnel were not: in part this reflected the opinion of the commissions held both by the Government and by the educational community. It also reflected a trend toward increased use by agencies of well-qualified, experienced staff members.

The data analysis found that the conceptual framework applied well to the case studied. The framework also proved capable of prediction in regard to aspects of the case. It was found that "raw politics" played a significant role in postsecondary education in Alberta in the period studied, and that institutions were founded for various reasons, sometimes openly political. A "pecking order" of institutions was also discerned in Alberta, as was described in the framework. Finally, the Alberta Colleges Commission, usually judged as a successful agency, was found to meet all the requirements of the conventional wisdom on coordination.

CONCLUSIONS

From the analysis of data, it appears that politics and postsecondary education are difficult to separate. Attempts to do so have proved futile: the establishment of buffer agencies seems an obvious example of this. In the choice of locations for new institutions, and in the choice of institutions in which to place new programs, it seems impossible to avoid political considerations. The clearest demonstration of this trend in the case presented is the rivalry between Edmonton and Calgary, which invaded, as it were, every means of coordination used in the period studied. Not even a new Government committed to rationalization and cost-cutting in postsecondary education was immune from pressure from Calgarians eager to increase the status of the city's University: indeed, there is reason to suspect that the new Government was more vulnerable to such pressure than the old. Although evidence for this claim is difficult to produce, it was made by a number of respondents. Political considerations, then, seem inherent in coordination of postsecondary education.

Similarly, while politicians and lobbyists are eager to request educational facilities for their town or city, few will willingly listen to proposals to abolish them. This helps explain why it seems easier to establish institutions than to close them. Proposals to close down or amalgamate institutions such as the agricultural and vocational colleges in the period during and after World War II were made fairly frequently, but these came to naught; the case of Fairview Agricultural and Vocational College is an outstanding example. It seems likely that institutions will normally be closed or amalgamated only when a government's hand is forced by economic or other developments.

Governments and the Role of the University

It was found that while the Social Credit Government in Alberta was largely content to allow the province's universities to develop within broad guidelines, the Conservative Government took a more critical attitude to them and saw them as part of a provincial system of postsecondary education. In part this was due to the economic circumstances of the time, for the Government was concerned with rapidly rising costs in health, education and welfare. However, there also seemed to be two very different conceptions about the university and its role in society. While the University of Alberta, in particular, was conscious of its history and proud of its traditional role as an institution attracting students from many parts of the world, the Government was more concerned about the University's relationship to other universities and to the public colleges. In the conflict between the new Government and some institutions (notably the University of Calgary in 1973) one can discern a clear example of the 'great divide' between politicians and academics discussed in the review of the literature in Chapter 2. The university's role as a provincial institution was the core of the argument, and it is worth noting that other institutions did not seem to object to being cast in this role. It seems likely, as Waldo remarked, that this dispute over the role of the university will continue both in Alberta and elsewhere:

> As the university becomes increasingly an instrument of government there will be severe problems arising from lack of congruence between academic norms and ideology and our general governmental-political norms and ideology. (Cited in Glenny and Dalglish 1973:2)

Agencies of Coordination

Much attention has been given by writers on coordination to the type of agency which is appropriate to various times and circumstances. Clearly it is unreasonable to imagine that institutions can ever return to the days of voluntary coordination; it is equally naive to hope that they can return to the days of buffer agencies. Buffer agencies seem to have inherent weaknesses: in consequence, they tend to be popular with academics and unpopular with governments. The particular system of two buffer agencies, plus other forms of coordination, which existed in Alberta in 1971 seems in retrospect an awkward and inefficient combination of methods of coordination. There were simply too many organizations and departments impeding communication between Cabinet and institutions. At times, such as the height of the controversy over the Faculty of Environmental Design, the whole scheme was practically unworkable.

Even at their best it is doubtful that buffer agencies go very far towards protecting governments and institutions from becoming involved in one another's affairs. As the case demonstrates, buffer agencies cannot remain aloof from politics when a new government comes to power. By the same token, buffer agencies do not protect the Minister concerned from controversy: if Mr. Foster was ever in doubt about this matter, the Red Deer crisis must have made it very plain to him that ultimately responsibility for events and decisions in postsecondary education was brought home to him. If buffer agencies do "buffer" politicians and educators from each other, perhaps the extent to which they do so is only relative.

The Nature of Coordination

In this study, examination was made of a move from coordination by a provincial university in cooperation with government to coordination by government departments and buffer agencies, and finally to coordination by one government department. While each of these methods was different, it seems unlikely that any form of control of postsecondary education satisfactory to all parties concerned will ever be devised. Just as there is no perfect form of government yet designed, so there is no perfect means of governance of educational institutions.

It was found that the institutions most resistant to control by governments and agencies were universities, and it seems likely that this will always be the case. Lesser and smaller institutions—in other words, those lower down the "pecking order"—can be expected to accept control more willingly.

Change in Postsecondary Education

This dissertation has focussed on an important change in the governance of postsecondary education. Although many things did change in the period 1966-73, many did not. The University of Alberta was in 1906, and remains, an important institution with a central role in education in Alberta; even the agricultural colleges remained much the same institutions in 1973 as they had been twenty years earlier.

Change in education seems to occur with difficulty and only after considerable effort has been expended by governments and innovators; the force of inertia must not be underestimated.

The Role of the "In-Group"

Attention has been directed in this dissertation to the role of "in-groups" in education. A group of professional educational administrators with qualifications from the Department of Educational Administration at the University of Alberta were found to have been strongly represented in the Provincial Board of Postsecondary Education, the Colleges Commission, and in the reorganized Department of Advanced Education. Was this group's strength representative of an "old school tie" in educational governance in Alberta? The accusation was certainly made by those outside "the club" as they called it. Two other considerations are relevant. First, Alberta's educational world is relatively small—so much so that personal relationships and reputations characterize it. Second, the growing strength of professionals in coordinating agencies has been noted by Glenny (1976: 83). While there seems insufficient evidence available for a firm conclusion to be made, it is clear that the University of Alberta, and the Department of Educational Administration within the University, are very closely knit with the network of educational decision-makers in Alberta.

AN ASSESSMENT OF THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Analysis of the data has demonstrated that the conceptual framework applies well to the case under consideration. The pattern of growing control of postsecondary education is typical of cases elsewhere; so, too, is the move from voluntary agencies to partial state control of institutions. Unfortunately, the framework does not indicate whether the latter is a final stage, or whether another stage lies beyond. However, the process seems non-reversible, and a move back to buffer agencies (as requested by some of the universities in Alberta in 1973 and occasionally thereafter) is extremely unlikely.

The conceptual framework also allows some predictions to be made about Alberta's future in regard to postsecondary education. Discussion of economic conditions in the literature seems largely to have been borne out by developments in this province. While conditions are healthy, systems and institutions will tend to expand. Bouyant economic conditions in Alberta have, indeed, given its inhabitants a large number and variety of institutions. Until economic circumstances worsen, there will probably not be the tightening in postsecondary education which might seem necessary and beneficial to the postsecondary system. Leslie's assessment of the province was that at least one of its universities was unnecessary and might have difficulty surviving (1980:94) but the conceptual framework of this dissertation suggests that all are safe for the time being.

One word of warning concerns electoral realignments. It has been demonstrated that such events can lead to dramatic changes in postsecondary education. Were such a realignment to occur again, and especially were the provincial government to change, it could be expected that significant changes might be made in the governance of postsecondary education.

The intraprovincial rivalry discussed in Chapter 7 seems to be a permanent feature of politics, and the politics of postsecondary education, in Alberta. Indeed, it may possibly worsen: according to recent studies and projections, Calgary has a higher growth rate than Edmonton and may well far outstrip the capital in population and wealth (Hopkins 1981). Such a development, the conceptual framework leads one to predict, would tend to have implications for the balance of institutions between the two cities, and would tend to force government to upgrade the status of the University of Calgary.

In sum, the conceptual framework appears to enable generalizations and predictions to be made and has helped to illuminate the case under analysis. One of its limitations might be that too much attention to the type of coordinating agency being considered may well obscure key relationships between individuals, notably Ministers, Premiers and agency chairmen.

Were the framework to be revised, the following changes might be made. First, a discussion of economic conditions might be included: these seem to have been an important consideration for the Government in Alberta in 1971. Second, the term "buffer agency" has been accepted by the researcher, but on reflection it seems misleading—a term such as "semi-government agency" might help to emphasize the close relationship these bodies have to government on many occasions. Third, the framework could include a discussion of the role of personalities in postsecondary education: it seems plain that Mr. Foster, Dr. Kolesar, Dr. Worth and others played roles in the transition to departmental coordination, for example, which might be worthy of attention.

Either as it stands or with the above modifications, the framework could be used to study changes in educational governance outside Alberta.

SOME REFLECTIONS ON METHODOLOGY

In this study a case study method was used to examine changes in educational governance. A "reputational" method was used to pinpoint important actors in postsecondary education, and these were interviewed using an elite interviewing technique. The following comments discuss the approaches used and their usefulness for the research.

The Approach Taken

Respondents selected by the "reputational" method were normally contacted by telephone. Some were approached through intermediaries who knew them better than did the researcher. All accepted the request for interview; some asked for a preliminary list of questions and this was mailed to them forthwith. Interviews were normally conducted in the respondent's office and this gave the interviews the benefit of privacy interrupted only by the telephone. A small number of interviews were conducted in private homes, especially in cases in which respondents had retired. One such interview which proved extremely useful occurred after supper over a bottle of claret: these circumstances seemed to encourage a frank exchange of views. Another was held over breakfast; one occurred in a restaurant. Some interviews lasted over two and a half hours; some less than an hour. All these conditions were imposed by busy schedules and other considerations, and no standard technique was possible or desirable. The elite interviewing style, therefore, proved eminently suitable.

The normal practice in interviews was to begin by giving respondents a fairly thorough briefing about the interviewer, his studies in the Department of Educational Administration, and his interest in the research being undertaken. Some safeguards regarding confidentiality were discussed at this stage, to avoid misunderstanding. Next, some short, detailed questions were asked in order to get the respondent thinking and talking. A fairly free-flowing monologue tended to develop, with the interviewer taking notes by hand and asking questions for clarification. Towards the end of the interview, probing questions were asked. At its close, respondents were encouraged to make summative comments about the agency or organization being discussed. Towards the end of data-gathering, ideas and generalizations were put to respondents, especially at the end of the interview, in order to check critical hypotheses and generalizations. This was particularly useful in the case of Ministers and other critical personalities, who were deliberately left until late in the interview schedule.

After the interview, notes were checked, added to, and typed up as soon as possible. At the end of data-gathering, cited extracts from interviews were sent out to respondents to check for accuracy; in addition, key interpretations were tested on those most likely to be authoritative in the various areas under consideration. Chapters were then amended accordingly.

The Uses of Interviews and Documents

It was found that interviews and documents had complementary uses in data-gathering. Interviews gave the researcher a feeling for the period under study, alerted him to issues and controversies, and allowed him to have interraction with many of the personalities described in the study. Documents allowed him to confirm suggestions and resolve uncertainties, as well as to find the necessary detail about institutions and agencies. Records of the meetings and correspondence of the Alberta Colleges Commission and Universities Commission, and many other materials, were found in the Department of Advanced Education and Manpower, frequently in its basement vault. Minimal restrictions were placed on use of them and the researcher could skim materials and then return to them two or three times in order to obtain an understanding of how an event occurred. Some of the most useful materials were found by chance in boxes of seemingly unrelated correspondence. The fact that so many of the "key actors" in post-secondary education are still employed in the Department allowed the researcher to ask questions as they emerged from reflection on documents and interviews.

One caution might be added: it was made plain to the researcher that many respondents spoke freely because the issues being discussed were no longer current. It would be far more difficult for a researcher to gain access to documents and obtain frank interviews in regard to present controversies. Perhaps a ten to twenty-year "research gap" might be ideal.

Sorting and Arranging Data

The researcher expected to find difficulty in handling the considerable quantities of data generated. Most anxiety was experienced about interviews, which were expected to produce vast quantities of data which could prove difficult to categorize. As it turned out, facts, issues and controversies tended to group themselves around a few key issues as the data-gathering unfolded. It was plain, for instance, that the relative merits of the Alberta Colleges Commission and Universities Commission were of great concern to respondents. It seemed natural, therefore, to write a chapter on each, detailing its origins, staffing, and performance. As the question of the change of government concerned not only respondents but the researcher, a detailed discussion of the change of government and the move towards departmental coordination was virtually inescapable. In cases in which data proved puzzling, questions were put to informants and respondents: "How did this happen?" "Why did the Government do that?" Re-reading documents and interviews and turning to theses and other secondary sources also proved useful in resolving puzzles and confirming suggestions made in interviews.

Problems

It may be worthwhile noting some of the difficulties experienced during data-gathering. Some respondents proved difficult to interview: despite assurances that an hour or more would be available, one or two announced that they "had to go in half an hour's time"; these interviews tended to be unproductive. Second, in some early interviews, difficulties were experienced because insufficient attention was given to establishing "ground rules," for example, in regard to confidentiality. After reflection, the researcher took more time to establish trust with respondents, in part by openly discussing his research and its purpose. Third, some respondents were reluctant to give opinions on matters which, it later turned out, might tend to put them in a bad light. The story of the Environmental Studies program at Calgary was an outstanding example of this: respondents frequently commented, "I don't remember anything about that," or "You'd better ask . . . about that." In the same matter, official documents tended to be unavailable or to avoid the issue. Fortunately a record of the meeting of the Coordinating Council which decided the issue was made available to the researcher. The Red Deer crisis was another complex and involved story which proved elusive of complete understanding. Fortunately, in this case many of the most important of those involved in the crisis were available and were willing to speak frankly on the matter, so that its importance to the Conservative Government could be assessed.

While the methodology presented some difficulties, as indicated above, it could be recommended as an approach to research. It seems particularly applicable to problems of personal sensitivity and political controversy.

IMPLICATIONS FOR PRACTITIONERS

In this section, suggestions are made regarding the implications of the research for those who practise educational administration. Those most relevant to the study seem to be Ministers, agencies of coordination, and institutional heads.

Ministers for Education and Advanced Education could become more conscious of the many roles of educational institutions. While those in government tend to see universities, in particular, as parts of a provincial system of education, they should be aware of the age-old university tradition of free enquiry and tolerance of a variety of approaches to learning. While universities may be uncomfortable for governments to live with, the research and teaching they undertake can go far to enlighten and guide policy making and relieve the mundaneness of contemporary society.

Agencies of coordination must take great care with their staffing. An inexperienced, poorly-qualified staff will simply not be adequate to the tasks demanded of it, while inexperienced or unskilled staff may, at worst, bring down the whole agency with them. Another clear trap for agencies to avoid is domination by any one institution. This can prove fatal if governments perceive the agency to be the tool of institutional self-interest.

Institutional heads have often been advised to be temperate in their demands, at times by members of agencies themselves who are made uncomfortable by continual demands for new programs and buildings, sometimes made "behind the agency's back." As the case discussed in this dissertation demonstrates, governments are not unmindful of institutional self-interest, and if sufficiently concerned about perceived waste of resources, they will intervene in postsecondary education, perhaps by replacing an agency with a means of control which it is hoped will restrict institutions more firmly.

IMPLICATIONS FOR RESEARCHERS

Some implications of the study for researchers appear below.

First, researchers must accept that coordination is a political matter. It is inherently difficult, tends to be controversial, and has no ideal solution.

Second, researchers in the field of educational administration should be aware that the field has a strong political component. As any administrator must work in a political environment, an understanding of politics seems essential to any successful practitioner.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

In this section, several suggestions are made to researchers as suitable topics for research in fields allied to the politics of education.

First, the relationships between governments and institutions could be explored by studies of the attitudes of legislators towards education in general, or towards particular institutions.

Second, more work could be done on the history of education in western Canada, for example, on universities in the Depression or in the period of expansion in the 1960s.

Third, the question of Alberta's uniqueness was raised in this dissertation. It might be useful to explore the similarities between Social Credit and other populist movements, or to make other studies comparing education and/or politics in Alberta with developments elsewhere.

Fourth, there seems to be little written about some of the key figures in Alberta's political and educational history. On the political side, there is still room for a sound biography of Mr. Lougheed, as well as for something thoughtful on Messrs. Manning and Strom. In education, biographies of men like Dr. Byrne, Dr. Johns, Dr. Mowat, Dr. Swift and Dr. Stewart might go far to illuminate the politics of education, and the role of key personalities within it.

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January to April, 1972.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

INTERVIEW GUIDE

INTERVIEW GUIDE

1. What approaches to education were taken by the Social Credit and Conservative Governments in Alberta?

2. How effective was the Universities Commission in creating a provincial system of university education?

3. How effective was the Colleges Commission in creating a provincial college system?

4. How were the commissions perceived in terms of their relative effectiveness?

5. When was the decision made to create a Department of Advanced Education?

6. Why were the commissions absorbed into the Department in 1973?

7. Did this present any difficulties?

8. What other sources should I consult?

Note: This indicates the general intent and phrasing of questions used in interviews. Actual phrasing varied to some extent with each individual interview. In some instances questions were added or deleted as judged appropriate under particular circumstances.

APPENDIX 2

LIST OF RESPONDENTS

LIST OF RESPONDENTS

Beckel, William	President, Carleton University, Ottawa, Ontario
Bosetti, Reno	Deputy Minister, Alberta Department of Education
Byrne, Tim	Retired; former President, Athabasca University
Clark, Robert	Retired from public life; former Minister of Education
Erickson, Leif	President, Selkirk Petroleum Ltd., Calgary
Fast, Raymond	Director, Saskatoon Board of Education
Fenske, Milton	Director, Campus Development Services, Alberta Department of Advanced Education and Manpower
Ford, Harvey	Director, Alberta Bureau of Statistics
Foster, James	Member, Foster, Adair and Company, Red Deer, Alberta
Johns, Walter	Retired; former President, University of Alberta
Kolesar, Henry	Deputy Minister, Alberta Department of Advanced Education and Manpower
Kristjanson, Marino	Director, Research and Analysis, Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada, Ottawa
McDonald, Brian	Associate Vice-President (Academic Administration), University of Alberta
Mitchell, Jack	Retired; former Deputy Minister, Alberta Department of Advanced Education
Mowat, Gordon	Retired; former Chairman, Provincial Board of Postsecondary Education
Shorter, Larry	Director, ACCESS
Smith, Samuel	Associate Vice-President (Academic), University of Calgary
Snowden, Barry	Vice-President, Athabasca University
Swift, William	Retired; former Chairman, Universities Commission
Worth, Walter	Dean of Education, University of Alberta
Wyman, Max	Professor, Faculty of Education, University of Alberta

APPENDIX 3

MINUTES OF THE PROVINCIAL BOARD OF POST-SECONDARY EDUCATION: OFFICIAL SUMMARY, NOVEMBER 1967 - MAY 1969

MINUTES OF THE PROVINCIAL BOARD OF POST-SECONDARY EDUCATION: OFFICIAL SUMMARY, NOVEMBER 1967 - MAY 1969

This summary was found in papers of the Colleges Commission. The full minutes are unavailable and appear to have been mislaid.

November 1967

1. Functions:

   a) advisory to minister regarding colleges;
   b) advisory regarding needs for post-secondary education and establishment of new colleges.

2. Private colleges - excluded in legislation from preview [sic].

January 1968

1. Approved programs in colleges.

2. Recommended assumption of responsibility for Capital Projects in Colleges

February 1968

1. Operating grants to colleges introduced.

2. Initial reference to Proposals for Change (8)

   Proposal 1: That the Board look upon institutes of technology, agricultural and vocational colleges and junior colleges as being parts of one provincial college system.

   Proposal 2. That normally these colleges should be designed to serve persons who possess a high school diploma or its equivalent OR who are adults by definition.

   Proposal 3: That the five public junior colleges, the three agricultural colleges and the two institutes of technology be brought under the direct administrative control of boards of governors.

   Proposal 4: That consideration be given to the proposition that one board of governors might have jurisdiction over more than one campus. For example, a reorganization might be as follows:

i) one board for Medicine Hat Junior College.
ii) one board for Lethbridge Junior College.
iii) one board for S.A.I.T. and Mount Royal Junior College.
iv) one board for Red Deer Junior College and Olds Agricultural and Vocational College.
v) one board for N.A.I.T. and a future college on another site in the vicinity of Edmonton.
vi) one board for Vermilion Agricultural and Vocational College.
vii) one board for Grande Prairie Junior College and Fairview Agricultural and Vocational College.

Proposal 5: That a provincial commission be established, replacing the Provincial Board of Post-Secondary Education and the Universities Commission, to undertake appropriate functions in respect of the whole public post-secondary system including universities.

Proposal 6: That boards do not have direct access to property taxes as a source of revenue for colleges.

Proposal 7: That the present implied concept of junior college regions and the concept of participating school boards be abandoned, and that the administration of the college system be completely distinct and separate from that of the public school system.

Proposal 8: That further development of the college system, in the near future, be limited to the existing centers providing college education, i.e. Fairview, Grande Prairie, Edmonton, Vermilion, Red Deer, Olds, Calgary, Lethbridge, Medicine Hat.

March 1968

1. Review of Proposals.

2. Research Studies Proposed.

April 1968

1. Report of Cabinet reactions to initial Proposals.

May 3, 1968

1. Final Approval of Recommendations.
2. Decision to develop facilities at Lethbridge to accommodate both College and University.

May 10, 1968

1. Meeting with Cabinet regarding Proposals.

June 1968

1. Approval of Press Release.
2. Resignation of Chairman.

September 1968 (Kolesar, Chairman)

1. Approval of early submission of new legislation.
2. Review and approval of principles for new legislation.
3. Approval of new legislation for submission to Minister and authorization to discuss publicly.

November 1968

1. Consideration of Fast and Hanson projections of enrolment.
2. Policy decision regarding campus development in six centers—Grande Prairie, Edmonton, Red Deer, Calgary, Lethbridge and Medicine Hat.
3. Approval in principle to support residence establishment where required.
4. Policies stated regarding campus size:
    a) Initial maximum 5,000; later consider to 10,000.
    b) Procedure for campus expansion:
        i) educational plan first;
        ii) educational rather than community service space;
        iii) funding of capital projects including five-year estimate;
        iv) guidelines.

5. Projects approved in principle:

   a) Grande Prairie Campus.
   b) Edmonton area college.
   c) Medicine Hat.

6. Open door, unrestricted number approved.

December 1968

1. Review of Proposed Legislation.

January 1969

1. Program philosophy, objectives, procedures, policy approved including program scope (university transfer—one year only).

February 1969

1. Red Deer appeal regarding university year two rejected.

2. Guidelines for campus development reaffirmed with provision for flexibility from center to center.

March 1969

1. Affiliation agreements reviewed.

2. Approval of capital projects at Lethbridge (Administration Building), Red Deer (addition), Medicine Hat (size 650 students).

3. Policy stated that College Boards should cooperate with local authorities regarding community use.

April 1969

1. Approval of new affiliation agreement.

May 1969

1. Announcement of assent to Bill 70.

2. Receipt of report of Edmonton College Planning Committee.

3. Guidelines for construction of Student Residences approved.

4. Approval of initial proposals regarding new Mount Royal College Campus.

5. Final meeting of Provincial Board of Post-Secondary Education. Dissolution on adjournment.